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THE LAY OF HILDEBRAND
AS A HIGH GERMANISATION OF A LOW GERMAN TEXT

by

© HANS-GEORG TREVERS

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN

PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

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EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING, 1979

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled THE LAY OF HILDEBRAND AS A HIGH GERMANISATION OF A LOW GERMAN TEXT submitted by Hans-Georg Trevers in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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Supervisor

Raymond J. S. Grant

Holger Rausch

29 November 1978

For my mother

and

to the memory of my father

ABSTRACT

This thesis centres on the linguistic provenance of the mainly Old High German Hildebrandslied. To explain the mixture of High and Low German, and a number of Anglo-Saxon features, we adopt the hypothesis that an Old High German forerunner gave rise to an oral Low German version which was written down by an Anglo-Saxon trained scribe, and which itself gave rise to at least two High Germanising copies, the latter or last of which is the extant text. To explain the Bavarian features we suppose at least one of the scribes was Bavarian. To explain the inconsistencies and the use of the inside covers of a codex, we suppose that the present copy at least, but perhaps earlier versions too, were motivated by personal interest, not church policy.

The principle of (initial) prominence, developed for this investigation, holds firstly that it is in the early part of the word that faithful copying will take place, that is, Low German will tend to be preserved in the early parts of the word. Secondly, words which make a bigger impact on the scribe for their poetic potential or their rarity value are likely to maintain their Low German form. The corollary, the principle of final lability, is based on the understanding that in the copying process changes due to the scribe's dialect are more likely to happen near the end of the word when the visual impression of the original has faded. By showing that the principles apply regularly on the assumption

that the original was Low German we confirm the proposed hypothesis.

This investigation looks at each word individually and searches for clues that either support or go against the proposed hypothesis. Support is drawn from establishing orthographic changes between the supposed Low German original and the extant text. The presence of ð and d can be interpreted only to confirm that a translation to Low German cannot be considered, since we would expect LG th and not OE ð or HG d. Equally the consistent use of HG t for LG d leads to the same conclusion, whilst the apparent retention of LG t/tt can be explained as an alternative to adopting a use of z which was unfamiliar to the Anglo-Saxon trained scribe(s). Our interpretation of t/tt is borne out by the t - subtraction technique through which the expected distribution of Low German words emerged more clearly. The correspondence of LG k/c and UG ch, and also b>p and g>c indicate Bavarian influence which is plausibly accounted for by the native dialect of the copyist(s). Further orthographic changes, k/c = h/hh/chh and kk = cch, being entirely alien to Low German, reaffirm the proposed hypothesis and negate the translation theory.

The predominance of High German over Low German words supports the notion of advanced High Germanisation of the original and shows the implausibility of the translation theory. The proposed theory also incidentally solves some old puzzles, e.g. muotin, suasat, tirri, chludun.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

acc.	:	accusative
adj.	:	adjective
adv.	:	adverb
Alem.	:	Alemanic
AS	:	Anglo-Saxon
comp.	:	comparative
conj.	:	conjunction
C.U.F.	:	Cambridge University Press
dat.	:	dative
def.	:	definite
demon.	:	demonstrative
DVjs	:	Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literatur und Geistesgeschichte. Halle.
fem.	:	feminine
fig.	:	figure
gen.	:	genitive
Germania	:	Vierteljahresschrift für deutsche Altertumskunde. Stuttgart, später Wien.
GHA	:	Göteborg Högskolas arsskrift.
Gmc.	:	Germanic
HG	:	High German
HGo	:	High German oral version
Hl	:	High Germanising version II - das Hildebrandslied.
indef.	:	indefinite
indic.	:	indicative mood

inf.	:	infinitive
instr.	:	instrumental
interj.	:	interjection
interrog.	:	interrogative
JEGP	:	Journal of English and Germanic Philology. University of Illinois.
LG	:	Low German
LGo	:	Low German oral version
LGw	:	Low German written original
L/HGw	:	High Germanising version I
masc.	:	masculine
MHG	:	Middle High German
MLN	:	Modern Language Notes. Baltimore.
MLR	:	Modern Language Review. Cambridge.
neg.	:	negative
neut.	:	neuter
NM	:	Neuphilologische Mitteilungen.
nom.	:	nominative
OE	:	Old English
OHG	:	Old High German
OS	:	Old Saxon
O.U.P.	:	Oxford University Press.
(p.) p.	:	(past) participle
partic.	:	particle
PBB	:	Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur. Halle.
pers.	:	personal

P.F.L.	:	Principle of final lability.
P.I.P.	:	Principle of (initial) prominence.
pl.	:	plural
PMLA	:	Publications of the Modern Language Association
poss.	:	possessive
prep.	:	preposition
pres.	:	present tense
pron.	:	pronoun
reflex.	:	reflexive
relat.	:	relative
sg.	:	singular
subjunc.	:	subjunctive
superl.	:	superlative
UG	:	Upper German
Zfda	:	Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur. Halle.
Zfdph	:	Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie. Halle.
ZfDkde	:	Zeitschrift für Deutschkunde. Leipzig.

CHAPTER 1 · INTRODUCTION

1.1.0. General Introduction

The Hildebrandslied is a unique Old High German lay which, for its terse grandeur and intensity of feeling, has been called 'die Krönung unserer germanischen Dichtung' (Baesecke 1945:7). This incomplete lay of some 68 lines is the sole surviving record of German heroic poetry in Old High German. The extant version dates from the Carolingian age. It concerns the ultimate tragedy, a conflict of loyalties in which father and son face each other in single combat. The work is fragmentary and much of it defies certain interpretation.

The lay was discovered in 1729 by J. G. von Eckhardt on the two inside covers of a theological codex preserved in the Landesbibliothek in Kassel. The codex, which was written in Fulda, as proven by the signatures on the cover (Maus 1921: 27), dates back to the second half of the eighth century. The handwriting of the major part of the theological works reveals Anglo-Saxon scribal habits also apparent in the Hildebrandslied. Dating the entry of the lay into the codex remains only approximate, it being generally agreed only that the copying was undertaken during the last two decades of the eighth century or the first two decades of the ninth century.

In the manuscript the lay is written as continuous prose, but since the Brothers Grimm first edited the lay it has been written down as 68 lines of alliterative verse. Wilhelm Grimm judged from the handwriting that two scribes

had worked on the manuscript. This remains the usual view. Scribe A wrote the first page and all but the first seven and a half lines of the second page, which were written by Scribe B. The latter, it is felt, was demonstrating to Scribe A how the text should be written, for these seven and a half lines are tidier and not so spread out, with fewer scribal errors.

As mentioned, the lay is not complete; certainly the ending is missing. Many scholars have attempted to fill the supposed gaps and correct 'errors', giving rise to many conflicting emendations. "Supplying supposedly missing verses or lines is a harmless but futile exercise, which has demonstrated that no modern academic could have found gainful employment as a scop" (McLintock 1976:573).

1.1.1. Synopsis of lay.

The lay contains the earliest mention in the German language of Dietrich, who is Theoderick the Great, about whom many tales were told in medieval German. The hero of the lay is Hildebrand, who, returning to his homeland after 30 years in exile with his lord, Dietrich, has been chosen to fight a representative of the opposing army in single combat. In an exchange of words which precedes the combat, it is revealed that the opponent's name is Hadubrand. From the exchange we learn that he is Hildebrand's son, left behind with Hildebrand's wife when Dietrich and his faithful warrior had to

flee from Odoaker's wrath. Hildebrand, realising that he faces his own son, tries to make his opponent aware of their relationship. Hadubrand, suspecting treachery, refuses to believe Hildebrand and insults him, thus forcing Hildebrand to fight in earnest. The lay breaks off in the heat of the battle.

Wolff summarises the technique of the lay as follows:

> Das Heldenlied entwickelt die Handlung in knapper form, Schlag auf Schlag, nur die Hauptpunkte hervorhebend, manches nur andeutend; in dramatisch zugespitzten Wechselreden entfaltet sich der Konflikt und führt zum Höhepunkt und zum unnerbittlich tragischen Ende. (Wolff 1923:227).

Speculation has been extensive as to the details of the ending, but undoubtedly it was tragic: most likely the father killed the son (Ehrismann 1918:129).

1.2.0. History and legend within the lay.

There are many legends that have their source in history; typical are those dealing with Dietrich. In the German Middle Ages he was known as Dietrich von Bern (Bern = Verona). The legendary figure stemmed from the historical king of the Ostrogoths, Theoderick the Great, who ruled Italy from 493 until he died in 526. The Otacher of the Hildebrandslied is identified with the Germanic chieftain, Odoaker, whom Theoderick ousted from Italy. In 476 Odoaker, who belonged to the Sciri tribe, had supplanted the last emperor of

the West, Romulus Augustus, and the Roman Senate had requested the Eastern emperor Zeno to appoint Odoaker as Vice Regent. In the meantime Theoderick had been plundering Greece. As Odoaker was becoming too powerful in Italy to suit Zeno's purpose, both problems were solved by allowing Theoderick to invade Italy and unseat Odoaker. Theoderick entered Italy in 489 and laid siege to Ravenna, which finally fell in 493. Theoderick, after negotiating with Odoaker for some time, murdered him. (Bostock 1976:62).

In the lay and later legend Theoderick is supposed to have known Attila (huneo truhtin - 1.35) during his exile. However, Attila died before Theoderick was born. A link occurs, though, between Attila and both Odoaker's and Theoderick's fathers. Legend has extended the link to allow association with the famous warrior leader.

Thus legend appears to have reversed the historical roles: Theoderick's former actions in Greece came to be regarded as enforced exile and his conquest at Ravenna as a return to a kingdom rightfully his, while in turn Odoaker who in history was the legitimate ruler of Italy, was ultimately regarded as the usurper.

1.2.1. The lay's passage northwards.

Bostock (1976:63) states that the hero of an heroic lay must be blameless. Theoderick, in legend, is no longer the usurper, rather he has become the innocent victim. This

turnabout may conceivably have taken place with the Goths, who would favour their own king, Theoderick, over Odoaker, who belonged to the Sciri tribe. This view was then either carried northwards by the Goths who were fleeing the final destruction of their kingdom in Northern Italy or passed on to the Langobards who then settled the former Gothic kingdom. Schützeichel (1969:84) reports that during Charlemagne's reign a special interest was taken in reports and stories about Theoderick.

> Karl der Grosse sah in ihm offenbar das nachahmenswerte Vorbild eines Königs, und es ist überliefert, dass er im Jahre 801 eine Reiterstatue Theodericks des Grossen von Ravenna nach Aachen überliefern liess.

Charlemagne even called an illegitimate son, born circa 800, Theoderick.

Whether either explanation accounts for the popularity of the Theoderick legend in Germany cannot be wholly verified. That its use was widespread, especially in the Middle Ages, is beyond doubt, as is the fact that the Goths related the deeds of their 'hero' Theoderick as was customary. Jordanes, a Goth who lived in the middle of the sixth century, wrote that his countrymen, accompanied on the lyre, sang songs about their ancestors (Bowra 1961:43). The lay then passed on to the Langobards, who filled the power vacuum in northern Italy after the defeat of the Goths by Belisarius in 535 A.D. A Langobard version is substantiated through the name element -brand (Hildebrand, Hadubrand, Heribrand),

which was not present in Gothic (Heusler 1927:145). This assumes that the characters of Hildebrand and Hadubrand were included in the lay by a Langobardic scop. Indeed, no historical proof can be offered to suggest that Theoderick had a warrior by the name of Hildebrand.

The name element -brand is attested as early as the sixth century, and was frequently found in Langobardic names (Förstemann 1966:333). Andreas Heusler supports this view and, in reference to the Langobards adds:

> Ihnen, den Nachfolgern der Ostgoten auf italienischem Boden, konnte die Dietrich Dichtung früher bekannt werden, und sie konnten ihre Zutat, das Vater-Sohn-Lied, an die Nordnachbarn, die Bayern, abgeben. (1927:143).

Bostock (1976:65) also entertains the view that a Langobard poet who knew the Gothic legends created the story. Heusler (1927:143-152) proposed the transmission north to Bavaria, a land which enjoyed social and cultural contact with the Langobards, via the Brenner pass. "Weiter bestanden schon im 6. Jahrhundert Beziehungen zwischen Langobarden und Bayern durch die Heirat des Langobardenkönigs Authari mit einer bairischen Fürstentochter." (Kolk 1967:38).

Thus we see the transmission of the lay originating with the Goths, being developed further by the Langobards, and then being adopted in Bavaria because of cultural connections between these two areas.

1.3.0. Various views of linguistic provenance.

The language of the lay has caused much debate due to the dialect mixture. The two predominant dialects found in the lay are High and Low German, although features of other Germanic dialects have been proposed (Pongs 1913: 109-132). The orthography reveals a mixture of insular, Merowingian and Carolingian minuscule. Jacob Grimm (Deutsche Grammatik 1882:168) realised that quite frequently a dialect mixture was present within one word. How the mixture found its way into the manuscript has posed a puzzle that has been at the centre of most linguistic discussion concerning the lay.

1.3.1. Minor theories on language mix.

The Brothers Grimm first aroused interest in the lay when they published a facsimile of, and a commentary to, the lay in 1812. They viewed the language as basically High German, specifically Franconian, though stemming from a border area, thus accounting for the Low German features. As it was written in Fulda, they suggested Hessen. Müllenhoff (as summarised by Pongs 1913:80) concurred with the idea of a border dialect; however, he felt that a High German scribe had attempted to reproduce faithfully the Low German lay 'aber nur an hochdeutsche schrift und rede gewöhnt, kam er in der wiedergabe der abweichenden laute und formen nicht über eine gewisse grenze hinaus" (quoted in Neckel 1917:98).

He identified the language of Hessian/Thuringian border dialect with the text showing the strong influence of a High German copyist. Franck (1904:39) believed the dialect was Ingvaeonic in a border area between High and Low German. He speculated that an Anglo-Frisian settlement had been sited near the High-Low German border, although Kolk (1967:94) objected that there was no record of an Ingvaeonic group to the north of Fulda. The manuscript, according to him, was copied from the 'Ingvaeonic' original in Fulda.

Unwerth (1920:72-74) proposed a 'Mischmundart' which he thought might have been spoken in certain areas. He maintained that the idea of a Bavarian trying to versify in Low German was as improbable as a Low German altering a Bavarian original. Unwerth cited the border of Thuringia and East Franconia as the area of the dialect mixture, where Upper and Low German came together.

Although Möller (summarised by Pongs 1913:81) and Collitz (summarised by Pongs 1913:84) also saw in the Hildebrandslied an actual language, their rather uninfluential views differ significantly from those above. According to Möller, the lay shows no dialect differences. What was often regarded as Upper or Low German was due to time difference, the written original occurring during the transition at the time of the sound shift. Thus the presence of shifted and unshifted consonants was to be seen as the graphic expression for the start of the shift. Any word mixtures Möller

explained as the contrast in time of original and copy. Collitz proposed that the lay, and also the Old Saxon Heliand, were composed in an old epic poetic language which combined metre, style and vocabulary as well as dialect. Low Franconian, Saxon and Friesian elements are present and Low and High German consonants and vowels are contained in the lay. Thus whether the lay was a High German copy of a Low German original or the converse was irrelevant.

An early view held that the lay was written from memory (Lachmann, as summarised by Pongs 1913:80; Wood 1896: 323; Wilkens 1897:246). The reason for this assumption was the supposed 'gaps' in the manuscript where the scribe, recalling a story heard prior to entering the monastery, had forgotten sections while writing it down. Jacob Grimm (as summarised by Pongs 1913:80) also held this opinion, but Holtzmann (1864:290) proved that the manuscript was a copy. Since then much thought has been given to the dialect of the original.

1.3.2. High German original.

Holtzmann (1864:289-293) led the way by arguing that the mixture of dialects was explicable through the conflict between the copy and the original. He maintained that the original was High German - 'wir können mit völliger Sicherheit behaupten, dass der Schreiber ein Niederdeutscher seine Vorlage hochdeutsch war' (1864:291). He based his

arguments on three points: the geminate tt for LG t, imitating HG zz; the retention throughout the lay of HG t (LG = d); the use of suasat, copying the High German suasaz, whilst the Low German would have no inflection. Holtzmann went further, saying that the High German was a copy of a Carolingian original, concluding this from the variations in the vowels (Bavarian au, ao, o: Franconian/Carolingian ou, o, uo).

Many subsequent theorists have agreed with Holtzmann, specifically with his arguments in favour of a High German original. Meyer (1869:17) felt that the original was purely Bavarian, whilst Saran (1915:31-32) proposed that a Bavarian had tried to write the lay in Saxon for a Saxon patron. The work was then transmitted by a second person and written down by an educated scribe, from whose version the existing manuscript was copied. Saran felt that, to judge by its contents, the manuscript was intended for use in the Saxon mission. He based this view on the fact that under Charlemagne a mission was organised to consolidate the recent conversion to Christianity of the Saxons, of which the lay was to play a part. Baesecke made his view clear, regarding the lay as a 'fuldische Abschrift einer altsächsischen Umschrift des bayrischen Gedichts' (1919:62), and agreed with Meissner's proof (1904:400-412) which coincided with Holtzmann's theory.

1.3.3. Low German original

In spite of Holtzmann's persuasive argument, the contention that the lay was originally Low German persisted. Müllenhoff (1873:8-9) had already proposed this view. Socin (as summarised by Pongs 1913:54-55) saw the lay as essentially Low German, composed in the Hessian or Thuringian dialects, which aurally were similar to Low German yet in their forms and vocabulary represented a transition to High German. Kögel (1894:228) assumed, on the basis of the vocabulary, that the written original was Low German, and that it was written down by a High German scribe who wanted to put down the Low German sounds but, owing to his High German orthography, frequently included High German. Prior to the written versions, there had existed a Low German oral version, taken from a High German oral version. The existing manuscript is a mechanical copy of the High German version. Both Wood (1896:323-330) and Wilkens (1897:226-250) agreed with Kögel, Wilkens proposing that five scribes wrote the existing copy. Bötticher (1925:1) viewed the lay as having originated early in the eighth century, in the Low German dialect but as written down in Upper German, thus accounting for the High German forms. Frederick Norman (1973:14-15) found much to be recommended in Steinmeyer's theory (1963: 11-15), which proposed a High German oral version heard by a High German scribe in a Low German area recited by a Low German and copied down in his own High German form, hence

the remarkable mix. Wilbrandt saw the Saxon elements as native to the lay, the Franconian forms having forced their way in - "in den Wortstämmen oder doch in deren Anlauten waltet vorzugsweise das Sächsische: das Hochdeutsche hat sich der Flexionen und meistens auch der Stammauslaute bemächtigt." (1846:17)

Those theories that upheld the view that the language of the lay actually existed have now been discredited. Holtzmann has refuted the view that the extant version was written from memory. Research into the lay now centres on how the stages of transmission have resulted in a High - Low German mixture. Probably the dominant trend of opinion follows Holtzmann and Baesecke, whose views we shall examine now more closely as we develop our independent views.

1.4.0. Refutation of Holtzmann's argument

Undoubtedly Holtzmann's arguments for the manuscript being a copy are incontestable; one must also agree that the mixture of words and sounds (LG ē/æ :HG ei; LG cc:HG hh) make it inconceivable that the Hildebrandslied represents a spoken dialect. However, we disagree with Holtzmann in some major points dealt with below.

Firstly, he maintained that the geminate tt replaced the Low German t, agreeing with Jacob Grimm: "offenbar wurde das scheinbar richtige hochd. zz nachgeahmt" (Grammatik 1, 1822:168). This assumes a High German original. However,

our later line by line investigation will reveal further correspondences: LG th/d and HG d; but to what does LG t correspond in High German? The question raises an interesting problem, for nowhere does the scribe use the expected z or zz, and the correspondence certainly cannot be with HG t as this corresponds to LG d. The total absence of z or zz is remarkable in a text which is mainly High German and should be attributed to some aspect of scribal tradition. The scribe of the existing manuscript made use of the wen-rune (ƿ) for uu and of the ligature æ (æ) for long e, both Old English. Surely, then, it is possible to see in the lack of z or zz a further manifestation of Anglo-Saxon influence, for Old English has little use for the last letter of the alphabet: for that matter Old Saxon rarely uses this letter either.

It is our view that t or tt was written throughout the lay because the Anglo-Saxon trained scribe(s) of the written versions avoided z. Campbell (1959: 53) explains that OE z was used in biblical names (e.g., Azarius, Baldazar) and elsewhere (bezt = betst: draconze = dracontse: bæzere = bætsere with the value [ts]. Similarly Old Saxon used z for [ts] (Holthausen 1921: 63). The use and value of HG z as [ss] or [ts], and OE/OS z differed enough to make the scribe(s) avoid the letter entirely. Thus a High German scribe, schooled in Anglo-Saxon/Old Saxon traditions, it seems, used the contrast -tt-:-t- as a counterpart to LG -t-:-d-. We therefore find

it better to assume a Low German original being copied by a High German speaker with an (Anglo-) Saxon education.

The notion that HG z(z) is the model for tt in the lay, uses another assumption for support - that an attempt was being made to translate a High German lay into Low German. The prop, however, is very weak for the following reasons. The lay is mostly High German, and, consequently, as a translation into Low German it is unbelievable. There is also no purpose in translating the lay for the Saxons, as Saran suggested (1915:31); the lay presents material inappropriate for any attempt at conversion to Christianity, and would be unlikely to inflame the zeal of the clerics engaged therein or enhance the piety of the Saxons. Further, the text of the Hildebrandslied shows poor penmanship. The fact that the lay was written on the front and back inside covers of a codex suggests that no priority in parchment space was allocated to pagan texts, since the prime sources of the church were devoted to religious matters. This may therefore mean that the preservation of the Hildebrandslied was due to the personal interest of individual monks. If then, as we believe, the text was not an attempt at translation into Low German, then tt is not a replacement for zz in a High German original, although some form of distant, indirect influence remains possible.

A second point of disagreement with Höltzmann concerns the word suasat (1.53). In Low German the word is suas, and in the context of the lay it would show no inflec-

tion, whilst in High German we would normally find suasaz. However, we see the lack of z(z) as systematic and posit a High German with (Anglo-) Saxon schooling as the copyist of a Low German manuscript. It has been noted before that the endings are nearly all High German (Wilbrandt 1846:17). So here the zero Low German ending was replaced by HG -az, with t for z.

The use of the geminate tt is found only in the intervocalic position. As seen in suasat, finally a single t is used, as is also true initially (e.g. to). This maintains the consistent avoidance of z, and leads us to reaffirm the view that the High German scribe may well have been trained in Old English scribal habits and hence did not actively use the letter z. Therefore, initially and finally t was used, whilst the intervocalic t was doubled to avoid confusion with the medial HG t which corresponds to LG d.

The avoidance of z forced the High German scribe into an overuse of t, and only in the medial position did he overcome the problem. This gives us the following table:

		initial	medial	final
LOW GERMAN	t:	t-	-t-	-t
HILDEBRANDSLIED	t:	t-	-tt-	-t

The modern Bavarian fortis consonant has the syllable break within the duration of the stop. Kufner (1961:16) in arriving

at a phonemic analysis, decides that the difference between wegen and wecken can be represented as wéga and wégga, with further similar examples. This implies quite clearly syllable division in the consonant itself. The zz of Old Upper German can with plausibility be assumed to have reflected a similar boundary phenomenon. When the scribe rejected the z and used t he felt the same need to represent the geminate with an internal syllable break by doubling the consonant that he chose to use.

A further argument against Holtzmann is that z was not always geminated in High German. After long vowels and diphthongs a single z is normally found (Braune 1975: 96, § 97). Therefore, urhēttun (line 2), hētti and heittu (line 17), unmettiri (line 25), mōtti (line 60), muotti (line 61), huitte (line 66) are actually examples counter to the Holtzmann - Baesecke thesis.

A third point of disagreement with Holtzmann is the use of HG t (=LG d); it does not, as Holtzmann maintained, necessarily support a High German written original. HG t is found as the regular correspondence for LG d. It is just as easy to imagine LG d being changed to HG t as the reverse. Phonetically d and t are close, and either would be used depending on the dialect of the scop or scribe. Thus the High German copyist(s) would insert the native t automatically - LG gihorda: HG gihorta (line 1); LG ord: HG ort (line 38); LG skildi: HG scilti (line 66).

1.4.1. Baesecke's view of the linguistic mix.

Holtzmann's views have been maintained in this century by Baesecke (1919 and 1945), who was consequently obliged to make an unbelievably low assessment of the translator: "hier ist eine schriftlich althochdeutsche Vorlage knechtisch mangelhaft ins Niederdeutsche umgesetzt (1945:15). He also refers to the use of the geminate tt, viewed as a mere imitation of the HG zz, as 'sinnlos'. Were he to see the lay as a High Germanising copy of a Low German written original, then he might be kinder to scribe and copyist, and also more plausible.

Baesecke refers to the traces of insular influence such as the wen-rune and the ligature & , but avoids drawing any telling conclusions. He does mention a link between Old and Anglo-Saxon, but makes no suggestion how such elements may have come into the existing manuscript, other than Fulda being an English foundation. That Baesecke maintains the view of a translation into Low German, in spite of his own opinion that it was carried out 'knechtisch mangelhaft', is highly inconsistent, even illogical. Other assumptions might offer a more acceptable view of the lay and its transmission.

1.5.0. Theories proposing a Low German origin.

In view of our disagreement with the Holtzmann -

Baesecke trend of opinion, attention must now be given to theorists who proposed a Low German origin, whether oral or written. A number have already been mentioned above.

1.5.1. Kögel (as summarised by Kolk 1967:28-32 and by Pongs 1913:82 and 84) viewed the written form as Low German, stemming from a Low German oral version, which in turn came from a High German oral form. He felt that a written version had existed prior to our manuscript with the same errors as found in the lay, so our manuscript was an exact copy. The errors had occurred when the work was written down from memory. Kögel's arguments were that a Saxon would not have committed such 'unerhörten Fehler' as tt in lettun and motti, or ae and æ in haetti, furlaet and raet, nor would he have written ao, as it was not found in Old Saxon. Further, Kögel pointed out words not found in High German, or not possessing the Old High German meaning of the lay, (sceotantero, gimahalta, hevane, urhettun). With regard to reccheo, alliterating with riche (line 48) - a point Holtzmann appears to have omitted - Kögel applied Möller's argument that reccheo ni wurti was in fact the first half line, and so alliterated - wrekkio and wurdi in the original Low German.

1.5.2. Two Americans, Wilkens (1897:226-250) and Wood (1896:323-330), agreed in principle with Kögel, but felt that a High German wrote down the lay from memory, trying

to express the Low German sounds through High German orthography. However, neither convincingly explains the presence of orthographic insular traits or the lack of z.

1.5.3. Finally, Neckel (1917:97-111) astutely observed that although Holtzmann showed the traces of a pure High German version prior to our manuscript, he neglected to show the path from the High German version to the existing manuscript. It was not sufficient to say that the Low German copyist-translator went about his task in a careless manner. Neckel's basic view of the lay is that it was originally High German, yet his commitment to this view is not absolute. He maintains a perspective that allows for contrary views, even putting forward the argument that the geminate tt was used by the scribe wanting to differentiate the Old Saxon d, written in High German as t, from the Old Saxon t.

We shall now attempt to formulate a theory which avoids the weaknesses exposed above and incorporates old or new features which explain the dialect mixture of the Hildebrandslied better, we hope, than heretofore.

1.6.0. WORKING HYPOTHESIS.

As is now generally accepted, the lay began with details of Theoderick among the Goths, from whom the Langobards received the basic details, adding the apparently fictitious characters Hildebrand, Hadubrand and Heribrand,

the lay now centring on the father - son conflict. That the lay then made its way to Bavaria seems feasible in view of the social ties between the Langobards and the Bavarians. The transmission of the lay would be oral. Indeed, both Tacitus in his Germania and Einhard in Vita Karoli Magni attest to the recitation of stories at banquets.

In this manner a Low German scop might well hear and learn the lay whilst travelling through a High German speaking area or from a visiting High German scop in Saxon territory. When reciting the newly learnt lay, the Low German scop would quite naturally try to remain faithful to the version he had heard, yet he would be bound to create a Low German version. Some words, even lines, whose meaning was unclear or perhaps offensively pagan may well have been altered, but generally we assume fairly direct transmission; certain High Germanisms may even have been retained for poetic effect.

The Low German oral version was then set down in an assumed written version. The fact that the lay was written down may well have been due to the personal interest of a cleric, or it could have been a part of Charlemagne's plan to have German songs and stories written down, a wish reported by Einhard.- "Item barbara et antiquissima carmina quibus veterum regum actus et bella canebantur scripsit memoriaeque mandavit" (Chapter 29).

The Low German written original was, in the hypo-

thesis, followed by two High Germanising copies, the second being the only surviving copy. The assumption that two High Germanising copies were made, one from the other, is based on three words in the manuscript - man (line 43), miti (line 26) and min (line 13). man, in its context, makes no sense, and it is assumed that it should read inan, which must have been *ina in the Low German written original. The first Low/High German copy written by a High German scribe contained *inan, the form natural to him, whilst the second Low/High German copyist misread the in- as m-, thus writing man. In the existing manuscript we find unti, but editors generally assume it was miscopied for the preposition miti, which makes more sense. The Low German written original contained *midi, and through the regular d = t correspondence the first Low/High German copyist wrote *miti. The presence of unti in the existing manuscript can only be ascribed to the second Low/High German copyist misreading mi- as un-, possibly confused by the final i of miti, not found in High German. Finally, min is neither Low nor High German; the Low German is mi, the High German mir. We conclude that the first Low/High German copyist wrote mir, subconsciously slipping in his native form; in doing so he extended the curve of the r downward, in the insular style, so that it was seen as an n by the second High German copyist. min proves less conclusive, however, as it is followed by irmindeot, and might be anticipation of these letters in this word, the scribe's

eyes having glanced ahead.

In the two assumed Low/High German copies, the High German scribes appear to have copied the Low German written original more faithfully, then subconsciously, as the copying progressed, they changed words and forms into their native dialect more frequently. It is quite probable that each copyist contributed some changes from his original.

An aspect that should be mentioned here is the inclusion of Anglo-Saxon features. It has already been suggested that a copyist may have enjoyed an Anglo-Saxon education. The wen-rune (ƿ) and the ligature & (æ) are both Anglo-Saxon forms, as also is đ. Fulda, where it is generally agreed the lay was copied, was an English foundation with many Bavarian monks (Pongs 1913:196-197). Guided by certain Bavarian spellings, we assume, then, that the two copyists of the Low/High German versions were Bavarians. We must raise the question whether they introduced the Anglo-Saxon features, learnt from their English teachers. The use of đ may well furnish an answer. In general đ/þ is Anglo-Saxon, th Old Saxon usage. If th were used in the proposed Low German written version, it is unlikely that the High German copyists, trained in Anglo-Saxon scribal habits, would rewrite th as đ, for there is no motive to use a symbol for the Low German dental spirant when the Bavarian dialect of the scribe(s) is the reason for the change. The High German correspondence for the change is d. It would

seem far more plausible then to suggest that đ appeared in the Low German original, and that the scribe of the Low German version was also versed in Anglo-Saxon. The High German copyist maintained đ up to line 5 and then simply wrote d. If đ appeared in the Low German version, it is quite likely that the wen-rune (ƿ) and the ligature & were introduced at the same time. It is plausible to explain that a Low German text was written with the wen-rune and the ligature by referring to Anglo-Saxon influence, but the appearance of đ in initial, as well as medial, position is at odds with the usual practice of writing th at the beginning of words. Campbell (1959:25) states that in the Old English Corpus Glossary the symbol đ is found in all positions. (Further details of Anglo-Saxon scribal influence in Bischoff 1966:379-452, Th. Maus 1921:25-27 and Sievers/Brunner 1965:163-165).

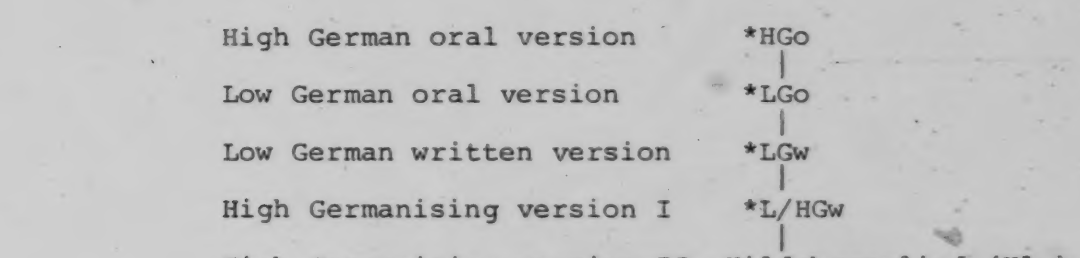
Now turning to the existing manuscript, we can see that it is in part poorly written, suggesting that its copying was not a part of the monk's normal duties. The same impression is created by the writing of the lay on the two inside covers of the codex. Perhaps the copying was a hurried task to ensure preservation of the lay, the parchment on which the lay had been written possibly being needed for a task considered more important.

Much of Old High German literature, particularly that of pagan content, is preserved in poor copies, suggesting

strongly that such works are undertaken by hobbyists looking for some unclaimed parchment space to preserve examples of their native culture, although these did not always serve the needs of the Christian Church. The lack of any collection of old German lays suggests that Charlemagne's order to make such a compilation met with silent opposition in the ranks of those who would have to do more work, namely, the clerics. The Church saw pagan culture as a force to overcome - not to preserve. Thus, while there is ample material in Old High German, the vast majority of it serves to spread and consolidate the Christian religion. In this context, we see our copyist, perhaps after Charlemagne's death, secretly and hurriedly entering the text of the Hildebrandslied into the codex, possibly being enlightened enough to foresee the cultural value of such a text.

Another point to be made about the lay is that it is a poem, and as such likely to contain archaic language. The lay indeed contains several words which cannot be attested elsewhere in either Old High German or Old Saxon, e.g., sunufatarungo (line 4), breton (line 54) and bihrahanen (line 57). Therefore we may have reason to consider that certain words have been retained from the High German oral version into the Low German for their poetic value, and hence transmitted to the Hildebrandslied. The preservation of High Germanisms would have been enhanced by the prestige of the Franconian dialect in Carolingian times.

We may summarise the transmission, supposed in the working hypothesis, as follows:



1.6.1. Principles of (initial) prominence and of final lability (P.I.P. and P.F.L.).

The principle of (initial) prominence is deduced from the frequency of Low German elements which occur in the early parts of a phrase or even the text.

When a scribe copies a phrase onto his parchment, he writes the first few letters while the visual memory of the original before him is undiminished. He is therefore likely to copy the initial parts of a word more faithfully than the later parts. The initial part, the root, is semantically prominent, bearing the lexical meaning, and conscious attention would be directed to it. In the present context this principle predicts that Low German elements will be better preserved at the beginning of words, phrases or larger passages.

Several examples will be used to exemplify the principle of (initial) prominence. First the word helidos (line 6); this noun commences a sense unit and therefore

stands out, especially as the word contains an alliterating syllable. Furthermore, this word is purely Low German and cannot be attested to in any other High German text. The High German scribe was attentive enough to copy exactly this line - initial word. The word ubar immediately following shows the High German spelling (LG ōbar). The picture of this word was no longer as vivid in the High German scribe's mind, and the similarity in spelling subconsciously brings him to use his native form.

The word seggen in the first line is a mixture of both Low and High German, and demonstrates the combination of two dialects within a single word. The Low German verb is seggian, written sagen in High German. seggen has been formed by retaining the Low German root segg- and adding the High German verb ending -en, so creating a hybrid word. The retention of segg- again shows the workings of the principle of (initial) prominence, the stressed root of the word in the original being copied exactly.

In line 5, gūdhamun shows that the initial, stressed syllable gūd (HG gund) has been retained. The loss of the nasal is totally foreign to High German, for which reason it was noted by the High German scribe, ensuring that it was copied exactly. The second element -hamun is identical in both dialects. The word gūdhamun is the final word in a sense unit, yet gūd- is retained, which seems to suggest that syllables or words whose spelling is unique to Low

German, are retained.

The verb seggen (line 1) also helps to demonstrate the second proposed principle, that of final lability, in which the High German elements dominate in late or final positions. The -en in the above verb is High German, showing that, midway through the verb, the High German scribe recalled his native HG sagen, and consequently, subconsciously, added HG -en, rather than LG -ian of the original. The initial syllable is generally the root of the word, usually found after a space and hence visually stronger and remembered more readily. Subsequent syllables or elements will not remain as vivid and are prone to change, quite naturally, to those of the native dialect of the copyist, here High German.

The two words herōro (line 7) and frōtōro (line 8) also exemplify this principle. her and frōt (except for the regular LG d = HG t change) are the same in both dialects, whereas the ending -ōro is distinctly High German (LG -ora). As her- and frōt- are identical in both dialects, this quite naturally put the High German scribe in mind of his own dialect and led him to revert to his native spelling; thus -ōro replaced LG -ora. Similarly with scarpēn scūrim (line 64), which reveals High German endings, different from Low German - scarpūn scūrium. Again the root or initial syllable has been retained, but the High German copyist has allowed his native endings to blot out the Low German ones.

Overall, where Low German elements are preserved,

these elements occur predominantly early in the word. This is not necessarily taken to mean that in the majority of words Low German elements are preserved in the initial parts of the word, but rather that where Low German parts were preserved they regularly occur early in the word. The same applies mutatis mutandis to whole words in the entire lay. This restriction is both logical and defensible, since the process of High Germanisation has eliminated most of the Low German traces.

1.7.0. Summary

In conclusion, the main points of the proposed hypothesis may now be noted as follows:

1. The oral transmission of the lay is from Gothic via Langobardic and High German to Low German.
2. The LGw introduced the Old English scribal influence (ð, ȝ, æ, ƿ).
3. There followed two High Germanising copies undertaken for personal reasons: z was avoided.
4. The dialect of the scribe(s) was Bavarian and he/they had probably also received Anglo-Saxon schooling.
5. Principle of (initial) prominence.
6. Principle of final lability.

The following line by line investigation will attempt to show the strong and weak points of this hypothesis.

A LITERAL LINE BY LINE TRANSLATION OF THE HILDEBRANDSLIED

I heard it said
that they strove in single combat,
Hildebrand and Hadubrant between the two armies,
son and father, they prepared their armour,
they set to right their battle gear, they girded their swords,
the heroes, over their chain-mail, whereupon they rode to battle.
Hildebrand spoke, Heribrand's son, he was the older man,
more experienced in life; he began to ask
with a few words who his father was,
of the races among men,.....
.....'or of which tribe you are,
If you tell me one, I know the rest,
child, in the kingdom: known to me is the whole great tribe'.
Hadubrand spoke, Hildebrand's son:
'This our people told me,
old and wise, who were earlier,
that my father is called Hildebrand: I am called Hadubrand.
Long ago he rode east, he fled Otacher's wrath,
away with Theoderick and many of his thanes.
He left in the land a young woman sitting,
a bride in the home, an ungrown child,
bereft of inheritance: he rode eastward.
Henceforth for Theoderick began a need
of my father: that was so friendless a man.
He was very angry with Otacher,
he was the most beloved thane with Theoderick.

He was always in the front of the people: to him
battle was always too dear:
He was known to brave men.
I do not believe that he still lives'.....
I invoke almighty God (said Hildebrand) from heaven above
that you have never with so closely related a man
carried on an dispute'.....
He then wound from his arm twisted rings
made of gold (imperial) money, as the king gave them to him,
Lord of the Huns. 'This I now give you out of respect'.
Hadubrand spoke, Hildebrand's son:
'With a spear one should receive gifts,
point against point. .....
You are, old Hun, very crafty,
you entice me with your words, you want to throw me down
with your spear.
You have become so old because you always carried out deceit.
Sailors told me this
west across the Wendelsea, that war took him away:
dead is Hildebrand, son of Heribrand'.
Hildebrand spoke, son of Heribrand:
'Well do I see by your armour
that you have at home a good lord,
that you so far in this realm have never been an exile'.
So be it, almighty God, (said Hildebrand), fate is fulfilled.
I wandered sixty summers and winters in foreign parts
where I was always placed among the spearmen.

At no fortress did they send death my way,
now my own child is to cut me down with a sword,
lay me low with his blade, or I will become his murderer.
But you can now easily, if your courage prevails (for you),
from such an old man win his armour,
rob the spoils, if you have any right to them'.
Let him be the most cowardly (said Hildebrand) of Eastern men,
who now denies you the fight, as you long for it so much,
a fight together: try who may,
whoever today shall vacate his armour,
or take over the breast-plates of both'.
Then first they let fly with the ashen spears,
in sharp showers; they stuck in the shields.
Then they strode up to each other, the gem-studded boards
were cloven,
they hewed fiercely the bright shields
until their linden shields became small
battle-worn with weapons.....

CHAPTER 2 LINE BY LINE INVESTIGATION

Line 1 Ik gihōrta dat seggen.

The line was originally an introductory formula, with LG gihōrda and seggian. Baesecke has drawn up a few similar introductory formulae (1945:23), whilst Braune mentions that this first line has been seen as a half-line, and offers the emendations suggested by many commentators (1920:145). Lachmann refers to similar formulae in the Heliand (1876:416).

There is little point in connecting the above formula with a High German equivalent in an earlier High German oral version as such phrases might easily be exchanged. The line was retained with only minor changes from the LGo through the LGw into the present copy because of its prominent position at the start of the lay.

Ik (personal pronoun)

Unshifted k (HG = ih). The Low German form has been retained in accord with the principle of (initial) prominence. The High German form first occurs in line 17 and will be dealt with at that time.

gihōrta (verb: indic. past, 1st pers. sg. of horen)

The spelling is High German, the change from Low German is a simple replacement of t for LG d. Although this is in accord with the P.F.L., it does not support the principle as the d = t change occurs in all positions. gi-, the prefix, is a perfective element, common to both dialects.

đat (demon. pron.; acc. neut. sg.)

The Low German form has survived (cf. HG daz). Earlier researchers were able to see a bar through the upright of the d. The presence of đ was discussed in the first chapter (section 1.6.), when the working hypothesis was put forward; the symbol stems from the LGw. The t remains because z is avoided in the lay.

seggen (inf.)

The spelling of this verb is a mixture of Low and High German. The Low German infinitive is seggian. The High German infinitive is sagēn. The word in the manuscript commences with LG segg-, and ends with the High German infinitive ending -en. This is in accord with P.I.P. and P.F.L.

Line 2. đat sih urhēttun &non muotin.

This line presents a problem of interpretation. Both urhettun and muotin have been proposed as the verb and as the noun - if one is the verb, then the other is the noun, and vice versa. In this investigation urhēttun will be regarded as the noun and muotin as the verb.

đat (conj. - neut. of pron. der)

See line 1.

sih (reflex. pron., sg. or pl. acc.)

This word is High German; here it appears to be used as a reflexive pronoun, and does not appear in this form in Low German. For this reason the word may have been

maintained throughout the lay's transmission, so as to preserve as much as possible of the oral original.

However, it is more likely that sih was inserted by the High German copyist(s), who had found LG *sie. The Low German scop had supplied this for HG sih, heard in HGo, realising that his listeners might not understand sih. sie is the Low German nominative and accusative plural pronoun, found in the Old Saxon Heliand as the reflexive (ll. 684, 1350, 2825, 4250). So the word may have represented the simple or reflexive pronoun. sih fits P.F.L.

urhēttun (noun; dat. masc. pl. of urhēt).

This word means 'challenge' or 'combat'. Although plural in the lay, the word has a singular meaning in translation, and together with &non means 'in single combat'.

The -un ending is also correct for the High German equivalent *urheizun. In the LGw *urhētun was found. The High German copyist(s) wrote it with the geminate tt. The reason for this has been explained in chapter 1, sub-section 1.4, dealing with the rebuttal of the Holtzmann - Baesecke thesis.

&non (adj.: dat. pl. of ēn)

In the manuscript the word is written &non, Braune (1967:84) taking the ligature to represent æ. Campbell (1959:17) shows that the ligature formed from æ, and found in Old English, represented ē. In Low German the word is spelt ēnon (HG einon). Thus we have another Old English scribal feature in the lay. The retention of & supports

P.I.P.

muotīn (verb; 3rd pers. pl., subjunc. past of *mōian)

The origin of this word is uncertain, and no single acceptable explanation for it has been given. Erdmann (1897: 426) stated that if muotin stemmed from OS mōtian, then sih should be dative and hence imo. One would also expect the geminate for LG t. Kluge (1918:502) felt that the verb did come from OS motian, meaning 'to meet', and also cites MHG muoten, which has the same meaning. However, he omitted to comment on sih, which, as Erdmann said, would have to be dative, as required with mōtian meaning 'meet'. The same meaning was given muotīn by Sverdrup (1924:100), who viewed the verb as the past subjunctive of OS muotian, mōtian, O E mētan. He explained the absence of the geminate as resulting from the division of muo- and -tin, found at the end of one and the start of another line. sih he felt was either dative or accusative. Wood (1896:323-330) simplified Kögel's view (as summarised by Pongs 1913:8), saying that muotīn is the present subjunctive of motian, a word unknown in High German and therefore misunderstood, the High German scribe confusing it with the past subjunctive of HG muoen:- muotīn. No one acquainted with Old Saxon would confuse muotīn with HG *muoztin.

However, we interpret the word muotīn to mean 'strove' or 'struggled'. Kluge (1967:491) under 'mühen' gives the reconstructed Gothic *mōjan. HG *muoien is also found as muoen, with a Middle High German cognate mōien.

From this an Old Saxon verb can be reconstructed - *mōian, whose past subjunctive would be *mōidin. A Bavarian copyist then changed d to t, ō to uo and in accord with P.F.L. omitted the linking -i- (Braune 1975:§363), and gave us the attested muotin. sih would then be a reflexive pronoun (LG sie), and the line thus means 'they struggled in single combat'.

Kolk (1967:118-120) has drawn together many of the existing views of the two words urhēttun and muotin, whilst Pongs (1913:98) discusses the line viewing muotin as the verb and offers two possible views of urhēttun as the noun. Finally, Wadstein discusses the line, regarding muotin as the noun and urhettun as the verb (1903:10-12), a view with which Bunje (1936:291) also concurs.

Line 3 Hiltibraht enti Hadubrant untar herium tuem Hiltibraht .... Hadubrant. (proper nouns)

The final element, -braht and -brant, in these names will be discussed, the initial elements neither adding to or detracting from the discussion in hand. The points made will cover any further occurrences of the names in the text.

The element -brant, common in Langobardic, would be maintained in the transmission of the lay to Bavaria. The High German scop, hearing the lay, would have no reason to alter the name, otherwise he would spoil the authenticity and destroy the flavour of the lay. -braht, or -beraht, is

Saxon, and it is likely that the brant form would be preserved by the Low German scop and scribe, who would be intent on preserving the regional name form for the sake of authenticity.

In the haste of copying, the first High German scribe used the abbreviation -bt on one, or more, occasions, creating ambiguity for a second or later scribe, who might use either element as an expansion. The result was a mixture of -brant, occurring ten times, and -braht, occurring six times, with one instance of the abbreviation that caused the confusion. Such incorrect and inconsistent expansion might suggest that little care was given to the copying, as suggested by other scribal errors.

It must be asked how the proposed theory measures up against the dominant view that someone was trying to translate from High German into Low German. Again one must start with -brant in the supposed High German original, then -braht could be regarded as an attempt to make the names sound more Saxon. However, such an alteration runs counter to maintaining the authenticity of the account. The scene of the action is in the south; the heroes are associated with Theoderick, Dietrich von Bern, and Bern means Verona. It would be inappropriate to put a family of Saxons in Lombardy and impossible to put Theoderick and the Huns in a Saxon setting. In this respect the proposed hypothesis is more acceptable.

Lastly, Fulda is taken to be the monastery in whose scriptorium the Hildebrandslied was copied. The 'Necrologia Fuldense' reveals that both -brant and -braht were common

name elements, and the scribes may inadvertently have alternated between both forms. Another possibility is that an n in the Low German written version showed an elongated first down stroke which caused the misreading as h, giving the other well-known name element.

Further background details can be found in Förstemann (1966:333), Gillespie (1973) and Krogmann (1959:9-10).

enti (conj.)

No problem arises with this High German form, which in Low German was endi. In the words gihōrta and muotin, we proposed that the High German t was a d in Low German. The same change occurs also in enti and

untar (prep. + dat.)

The phonetic similarity of d and t and their regular inter-dialect correspondence are such that a High German scribe reading undar would quite feasibly insert his own native voiceless stop. On the other hand, someone attempting to translate into Low German would be guilty of an unnecessary elementary error. The same applies to enti/endi above and all later d/t examples which are therefore endemic for the proposed theory.

herium (noun; dat. masc. pl. of heri)

This word is identical in both Low and High German. The word heri is a masculine ja-stem noun in both dialects. Although West Germanic -j- is soon lost in this position in High German generally, and one would expect to find herum (or -un, -on, -in) in High German, the j after an r, following

a short stem vowel, is maintained. (Braune 1975:§118).

tuēm (dat. pl. of cardinal number)

The word is Low German. This shows faithful copying, as does the major part of this line, from the proposed Low German written original. The High German would be zweim. The manuscript shows an unshifted t for High German z.

Line 4. sunufatarungo iro saro rihtun.

sunufatarungo (noun; nom./acc. masc. pl.)

The -t- is High German (Low German fadar). The compound occurs nowhere else and is not satisfactorily explained, in spite of the numerous articles written in the hope of shedding some new light.

Kolk (1967:121) states the suggestion by the Grimm brothers, that sunufatarungo was a misreading for sunufatar suntarungo, the last word being an adverb meaning 'especially'. Lachmann (1876:418) equates sunufatarungo with gisunfader, found in the Heliand, and Bunje (1936:291) proposes that the suffix -ungo should read ungot, giving the word the meaning of 'son to father hostile'.

We note that the word is plural (subject of rihtun) so that a Saxon plural in -os springs to mind, but there is too much uncertainty about this word to make it a strong argument for or against any theory. A form gisunfadar exists in Old Saxon (Heliand, line 1176), so that one might expect that to be in the hypothetical oral and written versions. In that case we must suppose that a High German copyist not familiar with gisunfadar replaced it with sunufatarungo, his

native equivalent. On the basis of this interpretation therefore, the proposed hypothesis is not supported, since one would expect this unique word to command attention and be copied faithfully. On the other hand, the assumption of a Low German *sunufadarungos is quite plausible (Kolk 1967: 121) and would create a situation in accord with our proposal. One could alternatively assume that the present form is a survival from the original High German version which gave rise to the Low German oral and written versions. It would have been left essentially unchanged because it was easily understood and rare forms in poetry are acceptable. As High German its ending -o must be interpreted as an old nominative singular (Bräune 1975:§207) and the plural verb rihtun as logical rather than grammatical. The proposed hypothesis is therefore not weakened by arguments based on sunufatarungo.

ira (poss. adj., indeclinable)

The word is identical in both Low and High German.

saro (noun; acc. neut. sg.)

The word is not High German, as according to Schützeichel (1969) the Hildebrandslied is the only Old High German work containing the word. However, in Middle High German the word sar meaning 'armour' occurs (Lexer 1966), as does saro , which suggests that sar originated in High German at an earlier stage yet was not in common use. It could well have belonged to a poetic language, which cannot be attested owing to the lack of suitable works in High and Low German.

One must then assume that saro belonged to a poetic High German Language. In our hypothesis the High German copyist(s) must have reproduced the word because, as a rarity it was prominent. The alliterating word sunufatarungo(s) was similarly prominent to the scribe(s) and must be assumed to have existed in the LGw.

rihtun (verb; indic. past, 3rd pers. pl.)

This is the past tense in both Low and High German. The Low German infinitive is rihtian, the High German is rihten. In the Old Saxon Heliand, line 5534, the form rihtun is found, although the indicative past tense in Low German may earlier have been rihtidun. However, through shycope, the middle i was dropped, and as the combination -td- would be hard to pronounce the d was omitted. Thus we might regard this word as unchanged.

Line 5 garutun se iro gūdhamun gurtun sih iro suert ana

garutun (verb; indic. past, 3rd pers. pl.)

This is the past indicative of the High German infinitive garawen. The Low German was garuwian/gerwian, which in the past would be gerewidun, also found in the Cottonian Codex of the Heliand as geridin (line 4250). In

the infinitive gerwian the umlaut is impeded by h plus a consonant, or before -rw-, thus garwian is a possibility. (Holthausen 1921:§79). In Low German it was possible to find garidun. As we have seen, Low German d and High German t are readily interchanged, so one can postulate the form *garitun, which the High German scribe when copying could easily write in a form more usual in his dialect - garutun - with assimilation of the unstressed -i- to the final -u-

The word may equally well be a possible retention from the proposed HGo, the Low German scop and scribe considering it unnecessary to alter a word so similar to their dialect.

se (pron., nom. pl.)

In both High and Low German se is a rare variant for the third person masculine plural pronoun sie. It is found in the Tatian and supports therefore an oral transmission via East Franconian.

iro (poss. adj.)

See line 4.

gūđhamun (noun; masc. sg. acc. weak declension noun of gūđhamo.)

In the first syllable, gūđ-, the nasal has been lost (HG gund-). The omission before a voiceless spirant is a Low German feature; in High German it would be retained. The second element -hamun appears in both dialects, yet as a compound gūđhamun appears only in the Hildebrandslied.

It could be postulated that the compound came

through from the Langobardic oral version via the HGo into Low German, where the nasal disappeared. gūdhamun was written down in Low German and perpetuated in the High German copy.

Here the proposed hypothesis fares better than the Holtzmann-Baesecke theory. A scribe who did such a poor job of translating into Low German in general would not know or remember that HG gund is gūd in Low German. The compound belongs in all probability to poetic language. Therefore, only the Low German scop is likely to have been familiar enough with it to alter it to gūdhamun. Once in the LGw it was retained as a poetic word. (cf. sunufatarungo, line 4).

Kluge (1918:502) proposes a link with gundfano 'battle flag' found in Otfrid (2,9) and the Ludwigslied (line 27), suggesting a misreading.

gurtun (verb; indic. past, 3rd pers. pl.)

This is the indicative past of the High German verb gurten. The Low German equivalent was gurdidun, from the infinitive gurdian. Through syncope and the consequent loss of the phonetically redundant d, gurdun remained. Between oral and written versions, the replacement of d by High German t was a simple step.

sih (reflex. pron.)

The word is High German. The word was probably miscopied from se or sie as in the first half line, maintaining a balance between the two half lines, se iro occurring in both, between verb and noun. This word is in accord with P.F.L., since the difference between sih and LG se, sie

(subj. pron. 'they') lies at the end of the word.

iro (poss. adj.)

See line 4.

suert (noun; acc. neut. pl.)

High German spelling, though the replacement of d (Low German is suerd) by High German t is a simple change.

Pongs (1913:44) says that after an initial consonant the wen-rune (ƿ) is expressed by a u, as in suert and also in tuēm (line 3).

anā (adv.)

The word is common to both dialects.

Line 6 helidos ubar ringa dō sie tō dero hiltiu ritun.

In this line the alliteration falls on helidos - (h) ringa - hiltiu suggesting that the lay was perhaps composed in High German before the loss of h (+ consonant). hringa was regular in Low German, which had not lost h (+ consonant), so that h was lost in the High Germanising copies. However, the proposed hypothesis says that faithful copying was usual for the initial position, therefore ringa of the existing manuscript should be in the LGw; but it is most unlikely that the LGw would not have hringa. Therefore, ringa goes against P.I.P.

helidos (noun; nom. masc. pl. of helid)

This is a word found in Low German. The inflexion -os is clearly a retention of the Old Saxon plural ending -os, which in High German would be -a. The word helid was

not found in German until the Annolied (11th century), whereas it was common in the Heliand (Kluge 1918:500-516). Kolk (1967:121-122) agrees that the -os ending is seen as an Old Saxon ending.

ubar (prep. + acc.)

The spelling is High German, o replacing u in Low German. It is plausible that the u- spelling was maintained throughout the lay's transmission, the meaning of either pronunciation being clear in both High and Low German; being a common word, it was changed automatically.

Surely, according to Holtzmann's theory, a Low German translating into Low German, and having correctly inflected helidos, would have also written down the Low German obar. As it stands this half line fits with the P.I.P.; non-prominent words are likely to be put into High German.

ringa (noun; acc. masc. pl.)

In both Low and early High German the word was spelt hring, most editors adding the h-, to ensure alliteration. In Low German, although the nominative and accusative endings might show -a, it is rare (Holthausen 1921:§ 265.5), yet it is usual in High German. Low German is *hringos.

dō (conj.)

High German orthography which in Low German would be represented as thō/dō. The đ with the bar through the upright was borrowed from Anglo-Saxon and was used to represent the dental spirant. It is found in the first four lines

of this lay (đat, lines 1 and 2, Hađubrant, line 3, gūđhamun, line 4), suggesting it occurred in the Low German written original but was not maintained in subsequent High German copies as d was more familiar. Orally the word would have been pronounced in accordance with the narrator's dialect.

sie (nom. pl. pron.)

A plural pronoun that was common to both High and Low German.

tō (prep. + dat.)

The word is Low German, and would clearly have been *zuo in the HGo. It is a common word which is easy to translate, yet the Low German spelling was maintained in the High German copies. The absence of z has been explained in Chapter 1, section 1.4.

dero (dat. fem. sg.)

A High German spelling, for the more common (dat. fem. sg.) deru - u and o, unstressed, are easily confused. The Low German form was thero/đero, a point in favour of the view that a LGw existed, for we must assume that the written original had *đeru/*đero parallel to đat. The copyist(s) did not always insert the bar, because d was usual in Old High German. If the scribe had wanted to change a High German text into Low German, a simple and mechanical procedure of replacing d with th was open to him: đ would be outlandish in initial position. (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.4.) It would lead us to assume that the monk charged with the translation was ignorant of accepted Old Saxon practice. On the

other hand, if we assume a LGo being written down unofficially and copied unofficially into a Low/High German version, the oddities and inconsistencies can be more readily understood.

hiltiu (noun; dat. fem. sg. of hiltia.)

The word in the manuscript appears as hiltu, with what must be viewed as the insertion of an i below the line, after the word had been written down.

The spelling is High German, whereas the Low German was *hildiu, the Low German d changed to HG t as in gihōrta and untar. In the existing manuscript we observe that the second i has been inserted. The first scribe may have written hiltiu, the -iu the regular High German i-declension ending. The second scribe, accustomed to -u, wrote -u in his copy before noticing the -iu, when taking another look. He then corrects his first attempt.

However, the lay affords the only instance of hiltiu found in Old High German (Schützeichel 1969), so possibly accounting for the initial misspelling of the word. hilt meaning 'battle' occurs in Middle High German (cf. saro, line 4) which links up with hiltiu and its meaning.

ritun (verb; indic. past, 3rd. pers. pl.)

The spelling is High German, whereas the Low German would show d for t.

Line 7. hiltibraht gimahalta heribrantes sunu her uuas heroro man

hiltibraht .... heribrantes. See line 3.

gimahalta (verb; indic. past, 3rd pers. sg.)

Once again the High German spelling occurs, (d = t change). Disregarding gi-, a perfective prefix in both dialects, the verb mahalen in High German means 'betroth', a meaning maintained in the MHG mahalen, whereas the LG mahlian primarily means 'speak' (Braune 1969:221; Schützeichel 1969), a meaning the High German has had to assume. This favours a retention of the Low German meaning in the copying yet brought in line with High German orthography.

If the Low German meaning alone is 'speak', then this word must have appeared first in LGo. This is quite possible because a phrase such as 'Then up spoke .... (name)' or the like must have been so frequent that it could be inserted by habit. The High German scribe, however, is just copying.

sunu (noun; nom. masc. sg.)

This word is identical in both dialects.

her (pron.; nom. masc. sg.)

This is a pronoun found in High German as a variant of er. It is a blend of LG he and HG er, and is found in areas bordering Low German territory but not in the south. In the proposed LGw, the form was presumably he. The -r must have been added by the High German copyist, working at Fulda, where her was normal (cf. Tatian).

The initial he has been retained, the ending having changed. The word is therefore in accord with P.F.L.

uuas (verb; indic. past, 3rd. pers. sg. of wesan)

The verb is identical in both dialects.

hērōro (comp. adj.)

This word, the comparative adjective of hēr, is found in High and Low German. The comparative form -ōro is High German, whereas the Low German would normally be hērōra. In the Heliand the comparative form hērro is found, meaning 'Lord', as a noun.

We can simply assume that hērora of the LGo and LGw was changed to hērōro in the L/HGw, the reverse of which had happened in the transmission from HGo to LGo. This is in line with the P.F.L.

man (noun; nom. masc. sing.)

This word is identical in both dialects.

Line 8. ferahes frōtoro her fragēn gistuont.

ferahes (noun; gen. neut. sg.)

This is the genitive singular of the noun ferah, identical in both dialects.

frotōro (comp. adj.)

This is the comparative form of the HG fruot or the earlier frōt, and the Low German frōd. Regarding the change of LG d to HG t, see enti and untar, line 3. The comparative ending was explained in line 7 - hērōro.

her (pron.; nom. masc. sg.)

See line 7.

frāgēn (inf.)

The infinitive shows the High German spelling, the Low German being frāgōn. The -en/-on interchange occurred

according to the dialect of the scop and scribe, and fits the P.F.L.

gistuont (verb; indic. past, 3rd. pers. sg.)

This is the indicative past of gi-stantan. Braune (1967:§346, A.5) states that the n was originally not a part of the preterite forms, cf. Gothic standan, stoþ, and in some old sources past forms without the nasal are found. In Low German the indicative past was stōd, although stuod with diphthong is found. In the Old Saxon Genesis (line 268) stuond is found, as well as in the Trier Segment (Holthausen 1921:§445). Thus the form gistuont, given d = t, is known in both dialects. The verb in the text is an auxilliary verb meaning 'begin', common in High German. The meaning 'begin' for gistanden is uncommon in Low German, although it is found in this meaning (Holthausen 1921:§488b). The word presumably was in the HGo and retained in the LGo and LGw, the meaning either known or easily guessed at.

Line 9. fōhēm uuortum hwer sin fater wāri

fōhēm (adj.; dat. pl.)

The High German fō(h) (also fao) corresponds to the Low German faho. In the proposed HGo *fōhēm or *faōhēm existed, which changed to *fahum in the LGo and LGw. The change from ō/ao to a would be a small one, yet natural in the oral transmission. *fahum was then written as fōhēm in the L/HGw and Hl. The change from a to ō was a minor one, but here it occurs in the root, running contrary to the P.I.P.

On the other hand, the change in endings from -um to -em would be consistent with the P.F.L.

uuortum (noun; instr. neut. pl. without a prep. of wort.)

The High German spelling is similar to the Low German form, again the simple change of d to t occurs.

hwer (interrog. pron.; nom. masc. sg.)

The manuscript contains the wen-rune (ƿ) for (h)w-, which is an Old English feature which is assumed to have been present in the proposed LGw (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.6.).

The form in the manuscript is High German; the Low German word does not show the final -r. During oral and written transmission of the lay, the word was most likely used according to each dialect, the meaning being plain. hwe would then be used in the LGw, using the rune which the High German copyist must have understood in order to write hwer in his native dialect, adding the -r. The word thus fits the P.F.L.

sīn (poss. adj.)

— The word is common to both dialects.

fater (noun; nom. masc. sg.)

A simple interchange, d for t, changes Low German to High German (cf. uuortum).

wāri (verb; subjunc. past, 2nd pers. sg. of wesan)

This word is identical in High and Low German.

Line 10. fireo in folche

fireo (noun; gen. masc. pl.)

This is the genitive plural of HG. firih(i)a, whose

Low German equivalent is firiho (from firihos, only found in the genitive and dative plural; Holthausen 1921:§273, A.3). In the Old Saxon Heliand (line 1538) the genitive plural is spelt fireo. The endings -eo and -io can easily be changed according to the scop's or scribe's dialect, and so fits the P.F.L.

in (prep. + dat.)

The preposition is High German and is written inna in Low German. The context would have made the meaning clear, and each scop or scribe would write the form in use in his dialect.

folche (noun; dat. neut. sg.)

This word is the dative singular of folk found in both dialects. In the proposed LGw it was written as *folke, yet the High German scribe(s) replaced -k- with -ch-.

In Upper German, k in the final position was often found as c or ch. It is assumed that the manuscript was copied at Fulda which is known to have had many Bavarian monks. Since graphemic changes are held to occur, it will be well to check further as to whether k (or perhaps c) = ch.

Line 11. ..... eddo (h)welihhes cnuosles du sis.

eddo (conj.)

This High German form is usually found as edo, the geminated d is analogous with Gothic aiþþau, but owing to its frequent proclitic position the gemination is lost. In

Low German the word is eddo or ettho (also found as efdo, efto, ofdo), retaining the Germanic voiceless dental spirant, which was voiced in High German - d. The High and Low German forms are orthographically and aurally similar, ensuring comprehension throughout transmission.

(h)welihhes (interrog. pron.; gen. neut. sg.)

(h)w- replaces the wen-rune found in the manuscript. This word is High German in spelling, the medial h being replaced by a k in Low German, spelling the word hwilik. The -es ending is identical in both dialects. The k = h change would be easily effected according to the dialect.

cnuosles (noun; gen. neut. sg.)

The word reflects High German orthography (cnuosal, cnōsal), for the Low German was spelt knōsal or knōsles.

The two dialect forms are very similar, initial k and c both being used for [k], whilst the High German diphthong [uo] is the regular High German development of Gmc. ō, which remained unchanged in Low German.

In this word LG k has not changed to ch, as in folche (line 10), suggesting that the k = ch is not an automatic change.

du (2nd pers. pron.; nom. sg.)

This is the High German form, found as *du in LGw. Either form would be automatically associated with one another, and changed according to the dialect. d = d change.

sīs (verb; subjunc. pres., 2nd pers. sg. of wesan)

The verb form is identical in both dialects.

Line 12. ibu du mi ēnan sagēs ik mi dē ōdre uuēt

The staves in this line are ēnan and ōdre, the words are therefore prominent and remain unchanged. The expected word order * ik wēt mi dē ōdre has been altered so that ōdre comes as the third stave, because the fourth does not alliterate in a regular line. The line in the manuscript must be very similar to the line in the proposed LGw.

* ef du mi ēnan sagis ik mi dē ōdre wēt.

ibu (conj.)

This is a High German conjunction, the Low German equivalent being ef, af, of. It is quite possible that both forms were known to the scops and scribes, and the change was effected according to the dialect. Being at the beginning of the line, ibu runs counter to the P.I.P.

du (pers. pron.; nom. sg.)

See line 11.

mi (pers. pron.; dat. sg.)

This is a Low German form; the High German dative singular is mir. mi occurs again in the second half-line.

This word and the rest of the line are Low German with the exception of ibu and sages: the copying has left the line in the main unchanged from Low German.

ēnan (numeral; acc. masc. sg.)

This is the Low German singular of ēn, which is einan in High German. The -an ending is identical.

sages (verb; indic. pres., 2nd pers. sg.)

This is the High German form from sagen, which is sagis in Low German (from seggian). It is a simple change for the High German scribe(s) to change LG -is to HG -es, especially as the root of the present indicative second person singular sag- is identical in either dialect. It is an automatic change and one that fits the P.F.L.

ik (pers. pron.; nom. sg.)

See line 1.

mi (pers. pron.; ethic dat. sg.)

See first half-line.

dē (demon. adj.; acc. masc. pl.)

This is the High German spelling of the nominative and accusative plural demonstrative pronoun, which was * đe in the LGw. (cf Chapter 1, section 1.4.). đ = d change.

ōdre (adj.; acc. masc. pl.)

This is a Low German spelling (odar, adar), which in High German retains the nasal : andar or anther. The High German scribe(s) seem(s) to have copied exactly, as he(they) has (have) for the most part with this line. The High German scribe(s) would be struck by the unusual spelling and therefore copy exactly.

We cannot be sure what kind of copy the scribe intended. Exactness cannot have been primary. All we can say is that in this line he altered very little. The High German scribes were inconsistent, varying between copying and translating. It seems that they copied better at the

beginning and in word-roots than in endings, which corresponds to the speculation that while the visual impact of the original was fresh, they copied more faithfully, which is the key consideration in our P.I.P.

uuēt (verb; indic. pres., 3rd pers. sg.)

This verb comes from the LG witan, the High German was weiz from wiz(z)an. The presence of the Low German at the end of the line goes counter to the P.I.P. In its defence we make two points: 1) the whole line is mostly Low German, and 2) the final -t is always unchanged in the lay, because there is no z.

The uu in this word instead of the wen-rune indicates that the High German scribe(s) knew the meaning of the rune and wanted to assist others in understanding it.

Line 13. chind In chunincrīche chūd ist mir al irmindeot

chind (noun; nom. neut. sg.)

Both Low and High German generally spell this word kind. The ch for k is clearly Upper German (cf. Braune 1975: §143, A.2), and is repeated in the alliterative words.

The word chind was spelt with ch- by the copyist(s), who was (were) in all probability Bavarian (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.6. - Pongs 1913:196-197). As in folche (line 10) k = ch, occurring here in the initial position, both signifying that the change is usual for the copyist(s).

in (prep. + dat.)

See line 10. The i- is capitalised in the manu-

script, which is both a Merowingian and Anglo-Saxon feature; if Anglo-Saxon, it links up with the idea of Anglo-Saxon education of either the original scribe or the copyist(s). (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.6.).

chunincrīche (noun; dat. neut. sg.)

The word shows UG ch (for LG k) and UG c (for LG g). Both ch- and c point to Bavarian scribe(s). The initial ch- again ties in with chind, confirming a k = ch change.

The second element -rīche seems to fit into the LG k = ch change; however, in High German the word is rīhhe. The change looks like a mechanical k = ch change but in the wrong place, so signifying a regular, though here incorrect, change.

The g in the final position (kuning) was generally retained after a nasal, but became c with hardening (Holthausen 1921:§252), especially in Upper German (Braune 1975: § 149).

chūd (adj.)

This word betrays both High German and Low German features, kund or chunt being High German, and kūd Low German. chūd commences as a High German word and ends as a Low German word, with the nasal disappearing before a spirant. Initial k is once more affricated to UG ch.

It seems strange that a HGo, when written into L/HGw, as proposed by Holtzmann, should succeed in the difficult point of omitting the nasal, yet fail in the easy task of writing k or c.

On the other hand, in the proposed hypothesis, HG *kund became LG *kūd in LGo and LGw. When the High German copyist(s) started on his (their) task, as with chind and chunicrīche, k/c was changed to ch, clearly an automatic alteration, since the end-product is a nonsense word in Old High German. This word confirms our suspicions about the ch in (chuninc) rīche.

ist (verb; indic. pres., 3rd pers. sg. of wesan)

This verb form is identical in both dialects.

mir (pers. pron.; dat. sg.)

In the manuscript this word is written as min. In stating the proposed hypothesis for this paper (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.6.1), min was cited to suggest a High German version prior to this present version and, further still, the original LGw. Yet min may well have been written due to the following irmin-. Nevertheless, the suggestion is that the LGw contained mi, which was copied as mir by the High German, who wrote an insular r (which looks similar to an n), so that mir became min. It may therefore suggest that the first scribe was Anglo-Saxon trained, whereas the second scribe was less acquainted with Anglo-Saxon script and was also more careless.

al irmindeot (adj. + noun; acc. neut. sg.)

The manuscript divides these words differently - alirmin deot, possibly due to the High German copyist not recognising irmindeot, which he found in the earlier High German copy. Schützeichel (1969) has found no other instance

of this compound in Old High German. irmin- is not found in High German; the element -deot comes up as thiot/diot, found in Low German as thiod. The initial th was found in LGw as ḋ (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.6. - working hypothesis), and changed to d in L/HGw, the final d becoming HG t - the regular d = t change.

The word irminthiod appears frequently in the Old Saxon Heliand (lines 175, 340, 4167, etc.). As it is found nowhere in Old High German, the compound may well have been introduced into the lay by the Low German scop or scribe, possibly as a substitute for a pagan word or idea.

Line 14. hadubraht gimahalta hiltibrantes sunu

hadubraht .... hiltibrantes

See line 3.

gimahalta (verb; indic. past, 3rd pers. sg. of mahalen)

See line 7.

sunu (noun; nom., masc. sg.)

The word is identical in High and Low German.

This line, except for the names, is identical to the first half of line 7. It appears to be a recurrent formula, which occurs again in the lay - lines 36 and 45.

Line 15. dat sagētun mi ūsere liuti

Again we have a line that has changed little from

the proposed LGw, which might have been

* đat sagdun mi ūse liudi

đat (demon. pron.; acc. neut. sg.)

Details about this word have been given in line 1. Here, however, the diacritic on the d does not appear as it did in the first five lines, and the bar is omitted in all further instances of d. This suggests that the High German scribe was not accustomed to the use of the diacritic, but it might show that the copyist was more mindful of his native orthography, which is gradually becoming more predominant.

Were the lay an attempted translation from High to Low German, as Holtzmann proposed, then the addition of the diacritic to d would be incorrect, since Low German only uses th- initially (Cordes 1973;125) and d or đ would be outlandish.

sagētun (verb; indic. past, 3rd pers. pl.)

This is the High German indicative past of sagēn. In Low German it would be sagdun from seggian. Again we find the d = t change. The High German scribe(s) may well have re-instated the e and altered d = t quite automatically, after having written sag-, which is High German also. Having commenced, as he thought, in High German, he finished in High German.

mi (pers. pron.; dat. sg.)

This is pure Low German, and in High German would be mir. The word has been discussed in line 12. However,

it is noteworthy that a LG mi follows HG dat sagētun (no z throughout the lay for LG t - cf. Chapter 1, section 1.4.). Possibly the High German copyist(s) glanced back to the original and correctly copied mi while the word was still vivid, whereas the hybrid ūsere shows how quickly the original begins to fade in the scribe's mind and his native dialect takes over.

ūsere (possess. adj.; nom. masc. pl.)

This is a hybrid word, consisting of the Low German ūsa without the nasal (cf. gūdhamun, line 5) and High German unsēr. The -ere ending is High German; in Low German it would simply be -e.

Either a Low German has translated correctly into Low German, omitting the nasal but then spoiling the work by adding the High German adjectival ending of the original before him, or the High German copyist memorised LG ūse and when writing it down automatically included his native form -re. This would then fit the P.I.P. and P.F.L.

The following word together with ūsere may help in deciding how the lay was transmitted.

According to Kolk (1967:125) many alternatives to ūsere were proposed, words beginning with s so that the line would thus be improved. The suggested replacements include snottare, swase, sundro, suderne, sere, suder-, uz ereliute, te sode usere liuto, the one as hypothetical as the next.

liuti (noun; nom. masc. pl. of liut)

This is a High German spelling, but this is a

further instance of medial Low German d replaced by High German t. If a Low German were translating into Low German according to Holtzmann, then his spelling failed him, for surely t to Low German d would be an easy and obvious change. On this basis ūsere above was extended from Low German ūse to ūsere, by the scribe thinking of his native form. So too with liuti: the High German copyist memorised Low German liudi, the change to t being simple and automatic.

A pattern of automatic scribal changes is emerging between the Low and High German spellings. LG th/đ = HG d, and LG d = HG t. The two changes are connected, for if d is used where Low German had đ, then another change must be implemented where Low German had d, therefore High German t.

Line 16. alte anti frōte dea ērhina wārun

alte (adj.; nom. masc. pl. of alt)

This is a High German spelling, with the now regular d = t correspondence, pointing to an automatic Low to High German change.

anti (conj.)

d = t change. In Low German the word is endi, whilst anti is Upper German. The use of a- may be due to the previous alte. As such anti speaks against the P.I.P., unless the whole word is non-prominent and so used according to the dialect.

frōte (adj.; nom. masc. pl. of frōt)

d = t change. The explanation is the same as for alte. In the proposed LGw, this half-line would have read * alde endi frōde, an easy task for the High German copyist to transcribe, inserting his native t orthography, with the automatic en- to an- change.

dea (demon. pron.; nom. masc. pl.)

The word is High German; the Low German is thea, probably written as đea in LGw (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.6.). The đ = d correspondence has been dealt with in line 15 - dat.

ērhina (adv.)

This word appears nowhere else either in High or Low German. It is a compound composed of ēr and hina (hinan in Low German), and it presumably came through from the HGo and was retained in the poetic context. The meaning would be clear in both dialects.

The possibility that ērhina may have belonged to a poetic language was refuted by Holtzmann (1864:291). He regarded this compound as 'eine Unmöglichkeit'. He links the word to the verb wārun, and only then does the meaning 'to die' become apparent. To the present writer ērhina seems a possible and clear compound.

wārun (verb; indic., past, 3rd pers. pl.)

In the manuscript the wen-rune is written for uu/w. The word is identical in both dialects, being the indicative past plural of wesan.

Line 17. dat hiltibrant h&tti min fater ih heittu hadubrant.

dat (conj.; neut. of pron. der)

See line 1.

hiltibrant .... hadubrant

See line 3.

h&tti (verb; subjunc. past, 3rd pers. sg. of heizzan)

As in &non (line 2), the ligature in h&tti is clearly visible in the manuscript, and represents ē (Campbell 1959:17). In Low German the subjunctive past is written hēti, whilst in High German it is written heiz(z)i. As stated in Chapter 1, section 1.6., the ligature entered the lay in the LGw and was maintained thereafter in the L/HGw and the Hl. as a rarity.

That the copyist(s) knew the meaning of the ligature seems obvious, since the intervocalic LG t of *h&ti in LGw has been doubled (cf. urhēttun line 2). The presence of tt is also explained in Chapter 1, section 1.4.

According to the Holtzmann - Baesecke theory, the geminate was an imitation of HG zz. However, it is unlikely that a Low German translating into Low German would render HG heiz(z)i as h&tti, rather than as *hētti or *heitti. The ligature as an Anglo-Saxon symbol is more likely to occur in the proposed LGw than in a translation from the High German, in which so little is Low German. Neither Holtzmann nor Baesecke explains the ligature within the existing manuscript.

min (possess. adj.)

This word is the same in High and Low German.

fater (noun; acc. masc. sg.)

d = t change - LG fadar. The -ar becomes an automatic change to HG -er.

ih (pers. pron., nom. sg.)

The word is High German, found as ik (lines 1 and 12) in Low German; it was probably in the LGw. The presence of the High German form may be due to the influence of the following h, causing the High German copyist(s) to be subconsciously influenced by his (their) own dialect.

If the lay was a translation from High to Low German, then this was too easy a slip. ik in lines 1 and 12 would prove that the translator knew the Low German form, as he should, if he were Low German as proposed by Holtzmann.

heittu (verb; indic. pres., 1st pers. sg. heizzan)

This word is a hybrid, showing both High (heiz(z)u) and Low (hētu) German features. ę and ē are phonetic and orthographic equivalents, as seen by the use of ę for e (hętti) whereas ei is the High German variant. The geminate tt has been dealt with in Chapter 1, section 1.4.

In the LGw the word appeared as *hētu. Similar roots in both dialects tend to be translated - cf. sagēs (line 12) - whereas widely divergent forms are either retained from HGo (e.g. sunufatarungo, line 4) or retained from LGw (e.g. chūd, line 13, with its nasal loss).

Line 18. forn her ōstar gihúeit flōh her ōtachres nīd

forn (adv.)

This word is identical in both dialects.

her (adv.)

It is the same in High and Low German.

ōstar (adv.)

The word is the same in both dialects.

gihúeit (verb; indic. past, 3rd pers. sg. of gi-wizzan)

Although spelt as above in the existing manuscript, Braune (1969:84) has written it as giweit in his edition. According to Cordes (1973: § 1.471) the manuscript spelling was typical of the Genesis , which served as the basis for an Old English translation. Here is a small piece of evidence connecting the Hildebrandslied with an Old Saxon original and Old English traditions. Pongs (1913:44) noted that u was used after an initial consonant instead of the wen-rune, yet earlier researchers were able to detect an acute accent over the u which was usually found over the wen-rune (ƿ́) (Saran 1915:39). This rune is an Anglo-Saxon feature which adds more weight to the above evidence. Both points seem to support the argument that a scribe had enjoyed an Anglo-Saxon schooling, the suggestion being that it was the Low German scribe (Chapter 1, section 1.6.).

The HGo may well have had *giweiz (from gi-wiz(z)an), which in the LGo became *giwēt (from giwitan). In the LGw, the scribe wrote *gihwēt, the h an orthographic rather than an oral feature. In the Hl, we have gihúeit; the change from ē to ei was due to the copyist(s) being accustomed to [ei] as a vocalism in the past tense. This word shows another

example of a small change made in the root.

ōtachres (proper noun. : gen. sg.)

Medial t and ch reveal High and Upper German spellings for which one would expect to see d and k respectively in Low German. The Low German spelling of the word may well have been found as *odakres. The changes appear to be automatic; the k = ch now appears to be a regular change (cf. chind line 13, chunincrīche (line 13), chūd (line 13), and folche (line 10)).

nīd (noun; acc. masc. sg.)

This is a High German spelling, also found as nīdh and nīth, which in Low German is nīd. During transmission of the lay the word was probably pronounced and spelt according to the dialect. The similarity is such that no problems arise.

Line 19. hina miti theotrīhhe enti sīnero degano filu

hina (adv.)

This is the High German spelling, the Low German being hinan. The final n of the Low German form, which might have appeared in the LGw was subconsciously omitted by the High German scribe. This word is therefore in accord with P.F.L.

miti (prep. + dat.)

The word is a hybrid, combining the HG mit and the LG midi. Crucial to this hypothesis is the final i, which does not appear in this prepostion in High German (miti does

occur as an adverb in the Lex Salica fragments, Notker and Otfrid (Braune 1969:222), but as a preposition it is spelt mit). The High German copyist(s), finding *midi in the LGw, copied miti, the medial interchange d = t a regular feature in the lay. If a Low German were translating into Low German, we feel he would simply have written midi. Thus d = t is an automatic change.

theotrīhhe (proper noun. : dat. sg.)

This name is also spelt dētrīhhe (line 23) and deotrīchhe (line 26). According to Gillespie (1973:30), the name is based on Gmc. *þeudo (Gothic þiuda, Old High German diota = people) and *rīk- (Gothic reiks = ruler, Old High German rīhhi = powerful).

In Upper German þ = d in the Bavarian dialect, Alemmanic completing the change in the second half of the eighth century. In Low German þ was written as th. Both High and Low German are familiar with th and d, the former lasting longer in Low German before changing to d.

Germanic eu became eo (also io) in both High and Low German. Baesecke, according to Braune (1975:§47), felt that it was a Langobardic ē found in dētrīhhe.

h(h) developed in High German from the Germanic k, which was retained in Low German (ik:ih) : chh is probably a confusion of ch and hh.

The three spellings of the name are predominantly High German, excepting th and possibly ē. A High German attempting to translate into Low German made a bad job, if

this were the case. Following the proposed hypothesis, theotīhhe fits the P.I.P., which the High German copyist(s) then changed by writing de- and deo- (lines 23 and 26 respectively).

The name is a frequent royal name among the Goths, Vandals and Franks (Förstemann, vol.1, 1966:1445ff.) and became famous through the two sixth-century bearers of it, Theoderic the Ostrogoth (died 526) and Theoderic the Frank (died 534). The name is attested in a variety of spellings from the first century onward right up to the eleventh century (Förstemann, vol. 1, 1966:1445-1448). th varies with t, d and dh, eu varies with iu, eo, o, ea, ia, i, oi, and e, whilst final c varies with ch, h, hc, and k. During the eighth and ninth centuries, during which time it is generally agreed the lay was transmitted, the following spellings were current: theodarich, theotoricus, theotirih in St. Gallen, theotericus and thiotiricus, together with thioterich and and thioterih also at St. Gallen. Other common spellings were deoderich, thiotricus, thieterich, plus spelling starting with theod-, theot-, teod-, deod-, deot-, ending with -ric, -rih, -rich, -rihc.

enti (conj.)

See line 3.

sīnero (poss. pron.: gen. pl.)

This word, in this form is identical in both dialects.

degano (noun; gen. masc. pl. of degan)

Except for the d/th = d change, the word is the same in either dialect.

filu (pron.: dat. neut. sg.)

The word is the same in High and Low German.

Line 20. her furlaet in lante luttila sitten.

her (pron.: nom. masc. sg.)

See line 7.

furlaet (verb: indic. past, 3rd pers. sg.)

The High German past tense of far-lazzan is farliaz, and in Low German it is farlēt from far-lātan. So how was furlaet arrived at?

The prefix far- has an older form in fur-/for-, in Low German, the short u > o which in turn > a, so it would seem that the older form is used. (Braune 1975:§76). The same variants occur in Low German.

The diagraph ae is used for [ē], not for the diphthong ia. ae is, moreover, an Old English scribal feature, so it seems more likely that furlaet was in the LGw and the High German scribe copied the word faithfully. It has already been found that the Low German scribe, if he was translating into Low German, made some basic errors (cf. ih, line 17), but it seems unlikely that he would use such an unusual Old English scribal form as ae for ē.

We can also add that the High German copyist(s) had an Upper German background (cf. line 13), according to

which we would expect ae as open [ę:], the early stage of monophthongisation of Gmc ai, whereas the old $\bar{e}^2$ (which appears in furlaet) would be written e before it was diphthongised as in farliaz. (Braune 1975:§35).

in (prep. + dat.)

This is the High German preposition, inna being the Low German form (innan is the adverb in Low German, so cannot be considered here.). The word has been dealt with in line 10.

lante (noun; dat. neut. sg. of lant)

The spelling is High German, but the only dialect difference is the interchange of the medial LG d for HG t. In both dialects the word has the same dative singular inflexion.

luttila (adj.; acc. fem. sg.)

The word is Low German, but both dialects have the same feminine accusative singular, strong adjectival ending in a. As the correct Low German, luttila could have been correctly copied from the LGw or correctly translated from luzzila.

sitten (verb; inf.)

The word is a hybrid of HG sizzen and LG sittian. The first syllable sitt-, with its geminate stop, comes from the Low German, -en from the High German infinitive.

In the proposed hypothesis, the copyist(s) had sittian in the LGw. He/they copied the root properly (in accord with the P.I.P.), but changed the ending to that of

their own dialect (in accord with the P.F.L.). As a translation of sizzen, sitten is faulty, Holtzmann's theory not accounting satisfactorily for the presence of sitten in the text. tt as an imitation of zz has been refuted (cf. haetti, line 17).

Line 21. prūt in būre barn unwahsan.

prūt (noun; acc. fem. sg.)

This is a High German form showing an UC or Alem. p (Braune 1969: §136), found in Low German as brūd. d = t change. During transmission each scribe would write the word according to his dialect. If the lay is meant to be a translation from High to Low German, then the scribe has clearly been unsuccesful here. The word runs counter to P.I.P.

in (prep. + dat.)

See line 10.

būre (noun; dat. masc. sg. of būr)

The word būre, meaning house, occurs only in Hl. (Schützeichel 1969). The dative ending e is identical.

barn (noun; acc. neut. sg.)

The word is identical in both dialects.

unwahsan (adj.; uninflected acc. neut. sg.)

In the manuscript, the wen-rune is used for w.

This word is unique to Hl. (Schützeichel 1969). However, the two elements un- and wahsan (the past participle of wahsan) are found individually in both dialects, thus the meaning of unwahsan was clear.

This line would easily be understood in Low German, where one might expect to find it written.

*brūd inna būre barn unwahsan

Why the initial word is written with p and not so būre and barn is strange. Initial b would be correct in either dialect, whilst p is an Upper German feature, supporting the idea of a Bavarian copyist (cf. line 10 and 13).

Line 22. arbeo laosa hera& ostar hina

arbeo (noun; gen. masc. pl. of erbi)

The spelling is High German; the word is more usually found as erbio, which is also the Low German form. The non-umlauted form arbeo would be typical of early Bavarian, in conjunction with r + a guttural or labial consonant, also true of late Bavarian (Braune 1975: § 696). Again this supports the view that a Bavarian copyist was at work (cf. lines 10, 13 and 21).

During transmission each scop or scribe wrote according to the dialect, *erbio found in the LGw. The word runs counter to the P.I.P.

laosa (adj.; acc. fem. sg. of los/laos)

This word, found in its High German form, takes a genitive case (cf. arbeo). The word is also written lōs in both High and Low German. The -a inflexion is identical in both dialects.

The long ō (lōs) is derived from Gmc. au with ao

as intermediate stage. ao is a Bavarian feature still found in the ninth century. If the Low German scribe were trying to translate into Low German, then here he has been unsuccessful concerning what must have been heard as a salient dialect difference. In the proposed hypothesis, on the other hand, *lōs may have existed in the LGo from HGo laos, lōs being written in LGw. The High German copyist, presumably a Bavarian, mentally said laos for los, a form he would normally use, and so wrote it down. Again the root has been translated (cf. fohēm, line 9.).

her (pron.; nom. masc. sg.)

See line 7.

raæ (verb; indic. past, 3rd pers. sg. of ritan)

Although now blotted out, earlier researchers found this word written with the æ ligature, representing -et.

The verb is past tense; in High German it was reit and in Low German rād or rēd.

Gmc. ai became ē in Old Saxon, yet in the Cottonian Codex of the Heliand long ē is written as ae (Holthausen 1921:§97). The verb in the manuscript is similar to the Low German, and it is possible that the High German scribe(s), copying the LGw, found *raed, which he copied as ra- plus his æ ligature, thus involving the usual d = t change. This word proves that æ was not in the LGw. It seems unlikely that a Low German translating into Low German, as in the Holtzmann - Baesecke theory, would choose ae instead of the normal ē, and leave the HG t.

The manuscript has hera&, not her raet as shown in modern editions of the lay. The manuscript form points to the LGw form *he raed. Here the *he was not changed to her due to the r already following for *raed. This implies that the written original was Low German and supports the proposed theory.

ostar (adv.)

This word is identical in both dialects.

hina (adv.)

See line 19.

Line 23. d& sid detrīhhe darba gistuontun

d& (conj.)

The manuscript shows d& with the ligature already found in ra& in line 22. This word (det) is often regarded as a dittograph, pre-empting the first three letters of the following word detrīhhe. This seems unlikely since no ligature is written in the name (Sverdrup 1924:106). The ligature is also found in feh&a (line 27) and gialt& (line 41), where -et is the correct extension. Heffner (1940:179-183) agrees with Sverdrup's view. Of det Kolk says: 'Verstechnisch gesehen würde es gut in Z. 23 passen.' (1967:127).

det is not to be found in High or Low German, and therefore it was assumed that the ligature represented -es, since des in conjunction with sid might mean 'since then'. However, in Old English ðæt (Bosworth Toller, 1882-98), a conjunction, exists, meaning 'after that' or 'thence' a meaning

that suits the context. During the LGo and LGw, ðæt > det may feasibly have crept in, and the High German scribe(s) copied -et, as in raæ, with the ligature. In this respect the translation theory looks weak indeed.

In High German the word dæ may ordinarily have been written *daz, since the Old English form ðæt is also an adverb meaning 'that'. The Low German would then be *that (Holthausen 1963:360).

sīd (adv.)

The orthography is High German, the Low German being written sīd. Basically the adverb is identical in both dialects, and a High German scribe copying from the LGw is quite likely to overlook the diacritic.

detrihhe (proper noun)

See line 19.

darba (noun; nom. fem. pl.)

The manuscript shows the High German form, which is tharba or tharf in Low German. Gmc b remains b in High German, whilst b becomes þ or f in Low German.

The word shows varying degrees of consonant development but would be recognisable, each scop or scribe using the word according to the dialect.

gistuontun (verb; indic. past, 3rd pers. pl. of gi-stantan)

In line 8, the singular verb gistuont (LG gistōd/ stuod) was analysed. This verb is the plural form; -un identical in both dialects.

Line 24. fatereres mīnes dat uuas so friuntlaos man.

fatereres (noun; gen. masc. sg. of fater)

We are immediately struck by an apparent scribal error, the inclusion of a superfluous -er-, indicating that the scribe appeared to have lost concentration. In the LGw stood the regular endingless genitive singular *fadar, which the High German scribe wrote as fater, the common medial d = t interchange occurring and automatically -ar > -er, a spelling common to the High German scribe. We may imagine the High German scribe returning to the original to verify that fadar had no ending, for in High German, with increasing frequency, the -es is adopted from the a-stem nouns (Braune 1975:§ 235). If the first scribe changed only d = t, the second scribe could well have 'corrected' the *fater by adding too much of the inflected form fateres. His hesitation after fater was the crucial event. The word is in accord with the P.F.L.

Emma Danielowski sees this word as a compound, made up of fater and eres, the final element being the genitive singular of êr, meaning 'Erz' (1919:71). This view has much to recommend it, but, in view of the errors in copying in the manuscript, it seems more likely to be a scribal duplication of -er, the scribe intending to write *fateres.

mīnes (poss. pron.; gen. masc. sg. of mīn)

This form is identical in both dialects.

dat (demon. pron.; nom. neut. sg.)

See line 1.

uuas (verb; indic. past, 3rd pers. sg. of wesan)

This form of the infinitive wesan is identical in both dialects, as is

so (adv.)

friuntlaos (adj.; nom. sg.)

This word is a compound made up of the elements friunt and laos, both found in their High German form. In Low German the compound would be *friundlōs; again the d = t change in the first element, while lōs and laos were discussed in line 22. At each stage in transmission, scop or scribe used those forms according to the dialect.

man (noun; nom. masc. sg.)

The word is identical in both dialects.

Line 25. her was otachre ummettirri

her (pron.; nom. masc. sg.)

See line 7.

was (verb; indic. past, 3rd pers. sg. of wesan)

In the manuscript the word is written with the wen-rune. The verb is identical in both dialects.

otachre (proper noun)

See line 18.

ummettirri (adv. + adj.)

In the manuscript the word is written together, but many editors separate them - ummet tirri.

In Low German unmet and irri are found, whilst in High German these words are unmez irri, the latter found only

in the lay as tirri/zirri (Schützeichel 1969). In accord with the proposed hypothesis, the HGo may well have had unmez(z) irri, possibly joined together, as a formula, with final z and initial i running together. In Low German it was written *unmetirri, z giving way to the voiceless plosive t usual in Low German, a form written in the LGw. The n, through assimilation in the oral stage, could well have changed to m. In the High German copy, the scribe copied exactly, except that he treated the t as intervocalic and doubled it (cf. urhettun, line 2) although it is really final. This would seem to indicate that t = tt, like the orthographic correspondences (d = t) (cf. k = ch in chud (line 13)), is mechanical. The scribe(s) copied from an original without much concentration and so included many High Germanisms. Further instances of such apparent mechanical changes will be sought to corroborate this view.

The word irri 'angry' belongs to the Ingvaeonic group of dialects - Old English, Old Frisian, Old Saxon. It may be a word introduced by the Low German scop and not understood by the High German scribe(s), in whose dialect it meant 'mistaken'. We now see why the High German scribe treated the word with so little understanding.

HG zorneg = angry would be the most likely word to fill the position of irri in the High German versions. In the Holtzmann translation theory one would expect LG torn in the existing manuscript.

Line 26. degano dechisto miti deotrichhe

degano (noun; gen. masc. pl. of degan)

See line 19.

dechisto (superl. adj. of dechi)

The word is the superlative form of the adjective dechi, found only in the Hildebrandslied in Old High German (Schützeichel 1969). From the context, the meaning of dechi must be 'close' or 'dear'. In both High and Low German thekki/thikki means 'firm' or 'close', so that it is possible thekkisto or thikkisto existed in the lay's transmission up to the LGw. The High German copyist(s), having changed th/d of *thegano/degano to d, did the same with thekkisto/dekkisto, and if they were Bavarian, as already suggested, kk should have become cch as in reccheo (line 48), but became ch, so giving HG dechisto. Possibly the scribe recalled but a single k and automatically, as seen in line 13, changed k = ch. (Braune 1975: § 144).

miti (prep. + dat.)

The manuscript clearly shows unti written down, but most commentators feel that it should read miti to give the appropriate meaning. This word has been included in the introduction to support the view that two High German copyists were at work (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.6.). Otherwise miti has been dealt with in line 19.

deotrichhe (proper noun)

See line 19

In the manuscript darba gistontun now appears, but this is seen as a copying from line 23, which reads detrīhhe darba gistuontun. Having written detrīchhe, the scribe's eyes must have travelled up to darba gistuontun in line 23 which he mistakenly copied, missing out the u. This reinforces the impression of carelessness of the scribe.

We can use this repetition to show that o and uo can come from the same scribe copying the same word twice. It is probable that the LGw had the older o, and that the second scribe wrote the more modern uo the first time and reverted to the original o the second time.

Line 27. her was eo folches at ente imo was eo fehēla ti leop

her (pron.; nom. masc. sg.)

See line 7.

was (verb; indic. past, 3rd pers. sing. of wesan)

The wen-rune is written in the manuscript for uu/w. The verb is otherwise the same in both dialects.

eo (adv.)

This form, as well as the alternative io, are identical in both dialects.

folches (noun; gen. neut. sg. of folk)

The spelling is an Upper German form, presumably Bavarian, which in Low German would read folkes, also to be found in High German. Again ch corresponds to LG k. The dative singular folche (line 10) explains the consonantal

correspondence.

at (prep. + dat.)

A Low German form, which in High German would have shifted t = z. The absence of HG z has been explained in Chapter 1, section 1.4.

ente (noun; dat. neut. sg.)

This word comes from the noun enti, endi, ende, for which the Low German dative is endie. This is another regular d = t change. The word also fits the P.F.L.

imo (pron.; dat. sg.)

This word is the same in both dialects.

was (verb; indic. past, 3rd pers. sg. of wesan)

The wen-rune is used once again for w, with an extra u slipped in, which gives ƿuas in the manuscript. The form of the verb is the same in both dialects.

We assume *ƿas in the LGw and L/HGw. The scribe of the existing manuscript is not quite familiar with ƿ and inserts u in the Hl.

eo (adv.)

The word is the same in High and Low German.

fehea (noun; nom. fem. sg.)

The ligature ea (cf. heraea (line 22) and dea (line 23)) represents -et, thus the word reads feheta. In High and Low German the word is found as fehta, the second e possibly an oral inclusion. Epenthetic vowels are common in Upper German, but are unusual between h and t (Braune 1975: § 69). The ligature in raet (line 22) must come from

a High German scribe, so applying equally to feheta. feheta indicates an initial f written as ſ in the manuscript, which is an insular form present in LGw and so in accord with P.I.P.

ti (adv.)

The word is Low German; in High German it is written with a shifted t = z : zi. Regarding the assumed translation from High to Low German, the word supplies supporting evidence, but we note again that the lack of z in Hl. could explain the form.

leop (adj.; uninflected, nom. masc. sg.)

This is the Upper German form; in Low German it is liof. The use of final p for HG b is Bavarian (Braune 1975: § 136). A LG liof was changed to liop, the second scribe, however, writing leop. This is another example of P.F.L.

Line 28. chūd was her chōnnēm mannum

chūd (adj.)

See line 13.

was (verb; indic. past, 3rd pers. sg. of wesan)

The wen-rune is used for uu/w in the manuscript. The verb is the same in both dialects. We see this form (ſas) as unchanged from LGw.

her (pron.; nom. masc. sg.)

See line 7.

chōnnēm (adj.; dat. masc. pl.)

This High German adjective stems from kuoni. The Low German form of chōnnēm is kōnum, which may well have existed in the LGw. Again the k = ch change occurs. The geminate -nn- occurs in words with short stem-syllables, though also in long stem-syllable words through the j in the original suffix.

It is interesting to compare the dative plural adjectival endings, the HG -ēm and the LG -um, both declined strong. The High German ending fits the P.F.L.

mannum (noun; dat. masc. pl. of man)

This form is identical in both dialects.

Line 29. ni wāniu ih iu līb habbe

ni (neg. partic.)

The form is common to both dialects.

wāniu (verb; indic. pres., 1st pers. sing. of wānen).

In the manuscript the wen-rune is written for uu/w. The spelling with iu is Low German, the High German being wānu. Even though ni is identical and consequently this might put the High German scribe in mind of his native form, the Low German appears. Possibly the first two words of this line were short enough to be recalled correctly, the mental image still strong.

ih (pron.; 1st pers. nom. sg.)

See line 17.

iu (adv.)

It is found in both dialects.

līb (noun; acc. masc./neut. sg.)

This word is known both in High and Low German; it is the usual High German form (līp is primarily Upper German), and in Low German it is an alternative spelling for līf and līb (cf. Cordes 1973:119 § 1.22.21). Each stage of transmission used the word according to the dialect, the meaning being clear.

habbe (verb; subjunc. pres., 3rd pers. sg. of habēn)

This is a hybrid word, made up of HG habe and LG habbie. Holthausen gives habbie as a variant of hebbie (1921: § 465). Let us assume that the Low German scop heard HG. habēe, a variant of habe (Braune 1975: § 304), and sang LG habbie, giving LGw habbie. Like other -ie, -ien endings, this one, too, was High Germanised, with the apparent exception of wāniu above, thus giving habbe. This gives us a good example of how the HGo influenced both the LGo and LGw habbie. Thus the words fit both the P.I.P. and the P.F.L.

Possibly one could say that a Low German had attempted to translate into Low German. If he knew the geminate in the Low German form, then surely he would know his native Low German ended with -ie.

Both Sverdrup (1924:109) and Wadstein (1903:24) expressed reservation about the meaning of this line, since here Hadubrant expresses the belief (wāniu) that his father

is dead, whilst in line 44 he expresses it as a certainty (tōt ist hiltibrant). Consequently commentators believe there to be a lacuna which they have attempted to fill. However, Beyschlag (1962:23) pointed out that both of Hadubrand's expressions about his father's death are paralleled in Hildebrand's expression of familial ties (lines 31 and 53). This therefore reveals a technique of composition - 'Doppelung und Steigerung'. As the dialogue proceeds, so the expressions become clearer and more certain.

Line 30. wēttu irmingot quad hiltibraht obana ab hevane

wēttu (verb; indic. pres, 1st pers. sg.)

This is a rare word formed from (gi)weiz(z)en, otherwise occurring only in Otfrid, meaning 'show'. No equivalent can be found in Low German, and so we assume it to have been adopted in the Low German versions.

In the HGo *weizzu probably occurred, which changed to *wētiu in the LGo and LGw, with the obvious dialect changes. Finally, in the High German copies, as happened with habbe (line 29), the -i- was dropped. Intervocalic -t- was changed as elsewhere to -tt-.

Henning (1921:140-151) feels that the pronoun, tu, is attached to the word as a suffix because of the sound similarity, examples of this being found in both major manuscripts of the Heliand : mahtu (Cottonian, line 773), maht thu (Monacensis) : scaltu (Monacensis, line 704) and scalt thu (Cottonian). Henning also finds parallels in nordic expressions,

denoting a plea for assistance - væit þu and veittu at (Schwab 1972:47-48). Kolk justifiably rejects this view, even though it seems convincing at first (1967:131).

irmingot (noun; acc. masc. sg.)

The two elements, irmin and got occur in both dialects, but as a compound irmingot does not occur elsewhere in High German (Schützeichel 1969). The spelling of got is High German, d = t change occurring.

Since the compound is unique within the High German dialect, it may therefore have belonged to a poetic language. In this context it was known in High German, passing then to the Low German versions and on to the Hl.

quad (verb; indic. past, 3rd pers. sg. of quedan)

The word is identical in both dialects, although the Low German would have a bar through the d upright. Nevertheless, either dialect spelling would be recognisable and understandable.

Pongs (1913:44) sees in quad the use of u after an initial consonant to express the wen-rune (cf. tuēm (line 3), suert (line 5) and gihúeit (line 18)).

hiltibrant (proper noun)

See line 3.

obana (adv.)

The word is the same in either dialect, the Low German form having a bar through the upright of the b. It is simply an orthographic feature, and, as with quad above, easily understood.

ab (prep. + dat.)

This is a High German preposition found as af in Low German. As Cordes mentions (1973:119 § 1.22.21), the use of f, þ and b was known to vary in Low German, so possibly ab, fitting the HGo form, was used in the LGw, being understood in this spelling. The word may have been interpreted at each stage according to the dialect, with the spelling unchanged. As a translation from High to Low German, one would expect af, which was more usual in Low German.

hevane (noun; dat. masc. sg. of hevan)

Schützeichel (1969) says that this word occurred nowhere else in Old High German other than in this lay. The High German form is himil.

hevane definitely belongs to the Ingvaeonic area; himil to the south. We have espoused the principle of prominence which obliges us to see hevane as unchanged, since an unusual word is prominent (cf. gūþhamun, line 5). Yet hevane cannot go back to Old High German. It must have been introduced after the HGo. It makes sense to see the Anglo-Saxon missionary or an Anglo-Saxon trained Saxon introduce this Christian word, as indeed irmingod/t may have replaced a pagan god-name, e.g., Wōdan, alliterating with wēttu. Krogmann suggests that irmingod/t may well have replaced a word such as Wōdan (1959:77).

Line 31. dat du neo dana halt mit sus sippan man

Lines 31 and 32 together make up a prose line, and

can be regarded as one long line (Kolk 1967:131-132), unusual amidst the alliterative verse of the lay. A possible explanation, and one, that if accepted, must refute the Holtzmann - Baesecke translation view, is that the Low German scop could not fully comprehend the meaning of the HGo. Therefore he interpreted the contents of the line as he understood it, without attempting to alliterate. The High German copyist(s) then altered the spelling of the words into his native forms.

Another view, one that is more interesting, centres on the presence of pagan elements (cf. final paragraph in previous line investigation), which may have been present in the LGo and LGw. These were then expunged and as a result the alliteration was lost. The lapse into non-poetic language supports this notion.

dat (conj.)

See line 1.

du (pron.; 2nd pers. nom. sg.)

This is the High German spelling. Here a change from Low German th/ð = d occurred, used throughout according to dialect.

neo (adv.)

This spelling is common to both dialects.

dana (adv.)

A High German spelling. As with du, th/ð = d change, with an n on the end of thana in the Low German spelling.

halt (adv.)

High German form, with a d = t change having occurred.

Wadstein (1903:28-30) feels that dana halt could be omitted being superfluous. von Greinberger (1908:95-109), however, regards the expression as an expletive (Flickwort), but ....

neo dana halt appears to be a formula. In Notker it appears three times as ne tana mer, in the Heliand twice as ni than halt and in Otfrid as ni thin halt, thus a known formula (Pongs 1918:106).

mit (prep. + dat.)

This is the High German spelling, a d = t change evident. mit (mid) is an alternative in the lay to miti (midi) - cf. line 19, in the lay.

sus (adv.)

This word is identical in both dialects.

sippan (adj.; dat. masc. sg.)

A High German adjective (sippi/sibbi), which is not attested in Low German. However, as sibbia = 'blood relation' occurs in Low German, while High German has sippia as well as sibbia, then it is plausible to suppose a Low German adjective *sibbi. The dative singular adjective ending on sippan is Low German, either strong or weak declension, whereas in High German the equivalent ending is

either -emo (strong) or -en/-in (weak).

The word sippan is a composite of High (sipp-) and Low (-an) features. Possibly, in the HGo the word was *sippemo, which became *sippan in the LGo and LGw. The root remained, but the adjective ending had to agree. The High German copyist then wrote the word as he found it - he only changed the obvious consonantal features.

man (noun; dat. masc. sg.)

Identical in both dialects.

This line shows the close similarity between High and Low German forms, changes being consonantal ones, ḍ = d, d = t. The line may well have appeared thus in Low German:

ḍat ḍu neo ḍanan hald mid sus sibban man.

Line 32. dinc ni gileitōs

dinc (noun; acc. neut. sg. of ding)

The word is High German, although the spelling is found as ding or thing, the latter also being Low German. The LG th/ḍ to HG d change, now well attested , occurred. g to c finally is a frequent change in Upper German, which again links up with the suggestion that at least one of the copyists was Bavarian.

During transmission of the lay, the word was used according to the dialect. With regard to the translation theory, this word has negative value, for in Low German initial th does not vary with initial d (Cordes 1973: § 1.33.1).

The Low German must be thing (cf. dero, line 6 and Chapter 1, section 1.6.), whereas in the LGw it was *ding.

ni (neg. partic.)

The word occurs in both dialects.

gileitōs (verb; indic. past, 2nd pers. sg.)

The word comes from the High German infinitive leiten (which is LG lēdian), giving the indicative past of lēdides, with alternative -as or -os endings. The -i- was often omitted through syncope and the geminate was simplified, thus leaving lēdos. gi is a simple perfective prefix found in both dialects.

In the HGo *gileitōs was used, which the Low German scop heard as *gilēdos; it was written down as such. The High German copyist(s) changed d to t as is usual in the lay, and High Germanised ē to ei, giving gileitōs. The root change, lēd- to leit-, has already been menticned, cf, fōhēm (line 9), occurring in roots that are similar in either dialect. The word shows no hint of a translation to Low German.

Wadstein regards gileitōs as a present tense, subjunctive mood, feeling that by inference this tense is required. He also gives his view on lines 31 and 32, which is similar to ours, but he feels that something is missing (Wadstein 1903:30) though he does not mention what that may be.

Line 33. want her dō ar arme wuntane bauga

want (verb; indic. past, 3rd pers. sg. of wintan)

This is the High German spelling, found as wand in

Low German. Thus again we find d = t change.

her (prdn.; nom. masc. sg.)

See line 7.

dō (conj.)

See line 6.

ar (prep. + dat.)

This preposition is a High German form. A frequent suggestion is that the scribe, in writing ar, anticipated the first two letters of the following word arme, and ar should read ab, although by coincidence ar exists and has the same meaning as ab. The Low German equivalent is af or ab; Cordes (1973:§ 1.22.21.) states that f, b and b are variants. We assume LGw *ab changed to ab in L/HGw, and was then miscopied as ar.

arme (noun; dat. masc. sg. of arm)

The word is the same in either dialect.

wuntane (p.p. adj; acc. masc. pl. of wintan)

The wen-rune is used for uu/w in the manuscript. The word is similar in both dialects, with d = t change.

bauga (noun; acc. masc. pl. of baug)

The HG bauga is found only in the Hildebrandslied (cf. Schützeichel 1969), meaning 'ring', found in Low German as bōga, generally used in compounds (e.g. boggevo = lord). The words stem from the respective verbs meaning 'to bend' - HG biogan; LG būgan. In Middle High German there is the word bōge meaning 'bow', which suggests that Old High German possibly possessed a similar word, though not in common use (Lexer 1966).

Due to the uniqueness of bauga, the word may well have been transmitted unchanged from HGo. However, in Old Saxon, Gmc au was contracted to ō, occurring in the LGo version and written bōga in LGw, and was then diphthongised by the High German copyist since Gmc au was maintained in High German (except before all dentals - Braune 1975: § 45). Thus bōga > bauga signifies another root change where a typical difference is involved (cf. fōhēm (line 9) and gileitōs (line 32)).

The idea of a translation from High to Low German cannot be entertained here.

Line 34. cheisuringu gitan so imo se der chuning gap

cheisuringu (noun; instr. masc. sg. of cheisuring)

This noun means 'gold coin', and would be kēsuringu in Low German. The ch is the automatic change for LG k (cf. line 13), as too is the HG ei for LG ē, as seen in gileitōs (line 32), showing a further root change. The instrumental ending in -u is identical in both dialects.

gitān (verb; p.p. of tuon)

It is a High German spelling, which would be gidān in Low German. The d = t change occurs.

so imo (adv. + pron.; dat. masc. sg.)

Both words are identical in High and Low German.

se (pron.; acc. masc. pl.)

See line 5; the word refers to bauga in the previous line. (cf. Lachmann 1876:432)

der (def. article; nom. masc. sg.)

This is the High German definite article, which in Low German is thē: a th/d = d change. In each stage of the transmission the word according to the dialect would be used.

chuning (noun; nom. masc. sg.)

Here another regular LG k = HG ch occurs - see line 13.

gap (verb; indic. past, 3rd pers. sg. of geban)

The final p is a Bavarian feature, again pointing to the dialect of the High German copyist(s). gab would normally be used in Franconian, gaf in Low German. Each stage of the lay's transmission used the form according to the dialect. (cf. lib, line 29: Cordes 1973: § 1.22.21.).

gap fits the P.F.L.

Line 35. Huneo truhtin dat ih dir it nū bi huldi gibu

Huneo (proper noun; gen. masc. pl.)

This word probably stems from the oral beginning of the lay, as it does not appear in High or Low German. From the context, the word is genitive plural (-eo ending), and fits both dialects, so huneo remained unchanged throughout the transmission.

truhtin (noun; nom. masc. sg.)

Initial d = t change.

dat (conj.)

See lines 1 and 15.

ih (pron.; nom. 1st pers. sg.)

See line 17.

dir (pron.; nom. 2nd pers. sg.)

This is a High German spelling, which is also found as dī, with a long vowel (Braune 1975: § 282, A.2), and thus similar to the Low German thī, also with a long vowel. This illustrates the th/đ = d change. *di was found in Low German oral and written versions, but dir was written down in the High German copy. The word also fits the P.F.L.

it (pron.; nom. neut. sg.)

The word shows an unshifted t, and is iz in High German. This is unusual, as High German forms are becoming more evident now, and such a short word would generally be easily shifted to iz. It is probable the scribe began the next phrase to be copied with it, and would therefore spell the first word exactly as found in the original. But the scribe(s) is (are) careful to avoid z, (cf. at and ti, line 27).

nū bi huldi (adv. + prep. (+ dat.) + noun; dat. fem. sg.)

These words are identical in both dialects.

gibu (verb; indic. pres., 1st pers. sg. of geban)

This word is similar in both dialects; the b in Low German is written with the diacritic, but this proves unproblematic in transmission.

Line 36. hadubraht gimalta hiltibrantes sunu

This whole line is similar to lines 7 and 14, and appears to be a formulaic introduction to speech. This formula alternates with quad (lines 30, 49 and 58), with the

above line appearing in line 45 again.

All the words have already been dealt with: the names in line 3, gimahalta in line 7, and sunu is identical in both dialects.

However, the verb is gimalta, not gimahalta, and is an alternative past indicative form of the Low German mahlian. This contraction is not evident in High German and must weigh strongly against a translation from High to Low German, unless the Low German translator translated correctly here. d = t change is nevertheless in evidence.

Line 37. mit gēru scal man geba infāhan

mit (prep. + dat.)

See line 31.

gēru (noun; instr. masc. sg. of gēr)

This instrumental form is the same in both dialects, though it is the only example in High German (Schützeichel 1969). We need not, however, assume it was unknown in High German because of the scarcity of surviving heroic poetry in that dialect. Indeed, Middle High German possesses the word gēr, with the same meaning of 'spear'. The word is hardly likely to appear in Middle High German without having passed through Old High German first, even though it was rarely used in the older stage of the written language.

scal (verb; indic. pres., 3rd pers. sg.)

This is the more usual High German form with c, from HG scolan, whilst Low German has skal from skulan.

c and k are common as variants, so either spelling is acceptable.

man (indef. pron.)

Identical in both dialects.

gebā (noun; acc. fem. pl. of geba)

Similar in both dialects, with a diacritic through LG b (Cordes 1973: § 1.22.21.).

infāhan (verb; inf.)

The word fāhan is identical in both dialects. The prefix in- is High German and is and- in Low German. Even though d between consonants often disappears through assimilation, in- and an- are phonetically at odds. As the meaning of the line is clear, the infinitive = 'receive', each dialect in transmission could simply use its native form. The High German prefix in- goes against the P.I.P.

Line 38. ort widar orte

ort .... orte (noun; nom. masc. sg. .... dat. masc. sg. of ort)

Both forms show the High German spelling with t, the d = t change illustrated again.

widar (prep. + dat.)

The wen-rune is used in the manuscript. The word is similar in both dialects; the d in Low German shows the diacritic - đ.

Line 39. du bist dir alter hun ummet spahēr

du (pron.; nom. 2nd pers. sg.)

See line 31.

bist (verb; indic. pres. 2nd pers. sg. of wesan)

The verb is identical in both dialects.

dir (pron.; dat. 2nd pers. sg.)

See line 35.

altēr (adj.; nom. masc. sg. of alt)

The word shows the High German spelling and inflexion; the Low German would be ald, the strong declension showing no nominative masculine inflexion. Again we have d = t change. The Low German ald may have existed in the LGo and LGw. altēr is in accord with the P.F.L.

hun (noun; nom. masc. sg.)

As in line 35 (huneo), this word existed in the lay from the first oral version, as it is not attested to in High or Low German. Its meaning and implication would be obvious to listeners. That the audience had heard of the Huns need not be doubted. Since the Huns are a part of the plot, the word must have been present throughout the lay's transmission.

ummet (adv.)

See line 25.

spahēr (adj.; nom. masc. sg.)

This word, found in High and Low German as spāhi, shows the High German inflexion, not present in Low German (cf. ald above). The LGo and LGw probably used spahi, -i

and -er having the same metric weight in the line. The High German ending fits the P.F.L.

Line 40. spenis mih mit dīnem wortun wili mih dīnu speru werpan

spenis (verb; indic. pres. 2nd pers. sg. of spanan)

The form is identical in both dialects.

mih (pron.; 1st pers. acc. sg.)

This is the High German spelling, which is mī in Low German. As the meaning is clear, each scop or scribe used the form according to the dialect. The addition of -h is in accord with the P.F.L.

mit (prep. + dat.)

See lines 19 and 31.

dīnēm (pron.; 2nd pers. dat. pl.)

This is the High German possessive pronoun, with the strong adjective ending. The Low German form is thīnum, probably spelt with ƀ in the LGw in our hypothesis (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.6.). th/ƀ = d change. The Low German inflexion is changed to HG -ēm, but each stage of the lay probably used the form in accord with the dialect. dīnēm fits the P.F.L.

wortun (noun; dat. neut. pl. of wort)

The lay shows the wen-rune, plus u, for w. The word is similar in both dialects, with d = t change. (ƿuortun).

We see the LGw version with ƿ and the u introduced probably in the second copying, the Hl.

wili (verb; indic. pres. 2nd pers. sg. of wellen)

The wen-rune is used for w in the manuscript. The word is identical in both dialects.

mih (pron.)

See above.

dīnu (pron.; instr. masc./neut. sg.)

See dīnēm above. The -u ending is the instrumental inflexion in both dialects.

speru (noun; instr. neut. sg. of sper)

The spelling is identical in both dialects. The instrumental without a preposition is archaic (cf. mit sīnu billiu, line 54)

werpan (verb; inf.)

The wen-rune is used in the manuscript for uu/w.

The spelling is Low German with its unshifted p, which in High German shifted via pf to f, giving HG werfan. The shift from pf>f after r did not occur in werpfan until the ninth century, so conceivably, as the date of the manuscript is uncertain, werpan might reflect a werpfan in the L/HGw (Braune 1975:§ 131, A.5). Otherwise the scribe has copied exactly from the original.

Line 41. pist also gialtæ man so du ēwin inwit fōrtōs

pist (verb; indic. pres. 2nd pers. sg. of wesan)

In both High and Low German bist is the usual spelling. The initial p for b is characteristic of Upper German (cf. prūt, line 21), indicating that at least one of

the High German copyists was Bavarian. This evidence agrees with initial ch for k (line 13), and must confound supporters of the translation-to-Low-German theory.

Initial p goes against the P.I.P.

also (adv.)

The word is identical in both dialects.

gialtet (p.p. as adj.; uninflected).

The manuscript contains the ligature et for the final -et (cf. raet (22), det (23) and feheta (27)). - gialtet

The word is the past participle of HG altēn, ālden, with a Low German equivalent gialdarōd/gialdrōd from the infinitive aldrōn. At each stage of the lay's transmission, the word was used according to the dialect, since the meaning would be clear from either HG -alt- or LG -ald-. Thus the use of gialtet agrees with the P.I.P. and P.F.L.

man so (indef. pron. + adv.)

These words are identical in both dialects.

du (pers. pron.; nom. sg.)

See line 11.

ēwīn (adv.)

The wen-rune is used in the manuscript for w/uu.

The word is found in both dialects. Holthausen (1967) states that in Low German it is only found in the Heliand, whilst in High German, apart from the Hildebrandslied, it is also found in the Benedictine Rule and Tatian. ēwīg is usual in both dialects.

inwit (noun; acc. neut. sg.)

The wen-rune is used for w/uu.

The manuscript form is in essence LG inwid, which through d = t change, appears High German; however, inwit does not exist in High German in this form (Schützeichel 1969). In High German the word is inwitti.

It is therefore probable that *inwid was introduced in the LGo and LGw versions and then made to appear High German. It cannot be a translation into Low German, because of t; but also with inwitti as the High German form, it is unlikely to be of High German origin either. It makes sense only as a superficial High Germanising of LG inwid (d=t change). This is good evidence of a Low German written original(cf. miti(line 19) for LG midi,while normally we find HG mit).

fōrtōs (verb; indic. past, 2nd pers. sg. of fuoren)

The High German form, represented here, is similar to the LG fōrdōs (the d = t change). The ō belongs to an earlier High German version or goes back to the LGw. The scribe(s) of the H1 already use(s) the more modern uo on occasion (cf. gistuont(un), lines 8 and 23, cnuosles, line 11).

Line 42. dat sagētun mi seolīdante

dat sagētun mi

These first three words are identical to the first three words of line 15, probably a formula.

seolīdante (compound noun; nom. masc. pl.)

The elements seo and līdante, with the d/th = d

change, are found in either dialect. As a compound, the word appears nowhere else in High German (Schützeichel 1969). The Old High German verb līdan is well attested. Also the O.S. līthan occurs in the Heliand. Kluge also mentions that līdan is found in the Ludwigslied (1918:503). The compound was probably poetic.

The line is very similar in the proposed LGw version:

* dat sagdun mi seolidande

Line 43. westar ubar wentilseo dat inan wic furnam

westar (adv.)

The word is identical in both dialects. We must assume that the wen-rune was used in the LGw, due to the predominance of ƿ for w within the existing manuscript. As such, it goes against P.I.P.

ubar (prep. + acc.)

This word is similar in either dialect, the b in Low German written with a diacritic, ƀ. Either form would be recognisable in the other dialect.

wentilseo (noun; acc. masc. sg.)

In the manuscript the w/uu is represented by the wen-rune.

This compound appears nowhere else in the High German dialect other than in the lay (wendelmer does appear in Middle High German - Lexer 1966:313). Whether it was present in the HGo cannot be known, but certainly the element

wendil is known in Old Saxon in persons' names (Holthausen 1967). * wendilseo was used in the LGo and LGw, and through the d = t change, the High German copyist(s) wrote wentilseo.

Various comments have been made in an attempt to determine the location of the wentilseo . Kögel (1894:222) parallels the word to the Anglo-Saxon wendelsæ meaning 'das mittelländische Meer', whilst the Old High German dialect used uuendelmeri, which means 'ocean'. Kolk (1967:64ff) has drawn together the various views, but no-one really offered anything conclusive. The inferences from the text seem to indicate that wentilseo is the Adriatic, and Hildebrand and Dietrich are returning to their Gothic homeland in Northern Italy from the land of the Huns (huneo truhtin line 34), having been exiled (reccheo, line 48), and having heard how, thirty years earlier, that heraet ōstar hina (line 22). Hadubrant heard about his father from seolidante (line 42), who came westar ubar wentilseo (line 43). The opposition of ōstar and westar "lassen erkennen, dass der Schauplatz des Geschehens Norditalien, der geschichtliche Raum der Ostgoten und Langobarden ist. Von dorther flohen Dietrich und Hildebrand mit ihren Mannen ostwärts, nach dem Hunnenlande" (Kolk 1967:65). So the word wentilseo is quite likely, then, if the above is acceptable, to come from the Gothic or Langobardic original. If it refers to the great sea of mythology that encircles the land, it could also come from the original, as it seems to be a part of the poetic vocabulary.

wentilseo commences with the wen-rune, but not

westar, which indicates the greater prominence of the poetic word inducing the retention.

inan (pron.; acc. masc. pl.)

In the manuscript this word reads man, but it does not suit the meaning of the line and so many editors have presumed it should be inan. To write man the High German scribe must have misread inan, which, being a High German word, most probably existed in an earlier High German copy. This gives us grounds within the proposed hypothesis (Chapter 1, section 1.6.) to assume two High German copies, the first High German copyists changing *ina in the LGw to *inan, which the second High German misread and miscopied as man.

wic (noun; acc. masc./neut. sg.)

The final c most likely indicates Bavarian influence in a word usually spelt wig in Franconian and Low German. In the LGw it was probably spelt wig, becoming wic in one of the two High Germanising copies. The reason -c and not -k was used, may again reflect the Anglo-Saxon preference for c over k.

furnam (verb; indic. past, 3rd pers. sg. of furneman)

The final element -nam is the same in both dialects.

The prefix fur- is here in its oldest form along with for- (Braune 1975: § 76). It occurs in East Franconian in the ninth century, but is unusual in older Upper German sources. In Old Saxon far- is normal, but for- occurs (Holthausen 1921: § 123).

Assuming a Franconian HGo we posit HGo fur-/for-,

which perhaps induced the more unusual LG for- in the LGo and LGw. This in turn led to fur- in the Hl.

Line 44. tōt ist hiltibrant heribrantes suno

tōt (adj.; uninflected.)

This is the High German spelling, found in Low German as dōd. Again the d = t change occurs.

ist (verb; indic. pres., 3rd pers. sg. of wesan)

The verb is identical in both dialects.

hiltibrant .... heribrantes (proper nouns)

See line 3.

suno (noun; nom. masc. sg.)

This is an alternative spelling to sunu in both dialects.

Line 45. hiltibraht gimahalta heribrantes suno

The formula, encountered in lines 7, 14 and 36, recurs, although the spelling of the names alters. In the manuscript, heribrantes is spelt heribtes, a contraction of the name, dealt with in line 3.

Line 46. wela gisihu ih in dīnēm hrustim

wela (adv.)

The wen-rune is used in the manuscript for w. The word is the same in both dialects.

gisihu (verb; indic. pres. 1st pers. sg. of sehan)

The perfective gi- and verb form are identical in both dialects.

ih (pron.; nom. 1st pers. sg.)

See line 17.

in (prep. + dat.)

See line 20.

dīnēm (poss. pron.; dat. pl.)

See line 40.

hrustim (noun; dat. fem. pl.)

The noun hrust occurs in both dialects; the dative plural ending here is High German, with -ium in Low German. The various stages of the lay used the inflexion according to the dialect, the meaning of the word being clear. The word thus fits the P.I.P.

Line 47. dat du habēs hēme hērron gōten

dat (conj.)

See lines 1 and 15.

du (pron.; nom. 2nd pers. sg.)

See line 31.

habēs (verb; indic. pres. 2nd pers. sg. of habēn)

Similar in both dialects. In Low German the b was probably written with the diacritic, which caused the High German copyists no problem.

hēme (adv.)

The Low German has been copied into the L/HGw. This was easy for the High German scribe to do, the lone ē sounding like ei in the High German spelling, heime, so that he copied what he saw. This is contrary to the tendency of

changing similar Low German roots to High German, as in fōhēm (line 9), gileitōs (line 32), bauga (line 33) and cheisuringu (line 34), among others.

hērron (noun; acc. masc. sg. of hērro)

The word is identical in both dialects.

gōten (adj.; acc. masc. sg. guot/gōt)

The word reveals a mixture of High and Low German forms. It shows the LG ō, which at the time of the extant text is HG uo, together with HG t (d = t change). ō was maintained into the ninth century in the Bavarian dialect, whilst uo had entered other High German dialects in the eighth century. This suggests once more that a Bavarian copyist made one of the two suggested copies, ō being more usual to him than uo (cf. fōrtōs, line 41); so ō was retained from LGw, the d = t the regular change. The adjectival ending -en is Low German, however, and should read -an or -on in High German. One cannot imagine gōten as an attempted translation into Low German, for if the Low German scribe managed LG ō and -en, surely the simpler t> d would have caused no problem.

Line 48. dat du noh bi desemo rīche reccheo ni wurti

dat (conj.)

See lines 1 and 15.

du (pron.; nom., 2nd pers. sg.)

See line 31.

noh bi (conj., and prep. + dat.)

Both words are the same in High and Low German.

desemo (demon. pron.)

This is the High German spelling; the Low German is thesemo, probably found as *ḍesemo in the LGw, ḍ = d change (Chapter 1, section 1.6.).

rīche (noun; dat. neut. sg. of rīhhi/rīchi)

This may be an earlier variant of the older spelling rīhh(i)e (dat. sing.), the geminate hh changing to ch in the ninth century (Braune 1975: § 145). The Low German form rīkie perhaps occurred in the LGw and was changed first to HG rīhh(i)e, then later modernised to rīche. On the other hand, in the H1, ch- is used initially for LG k (chūd line 13, chuning line 34, chōnnēm line 28), UG kχ-, and would not be suitable for the intervocalic spirant. It seems probable that this use of -ch- so early in the ninth century is an automatic replacement of LG k. rīche fits the P.I.P.

reccheo (noun; nom. masc. sg.)

This is the High German form; Low German is wrekkio. cch is appropriate for the Bavarian long affricate [k:χ].

The w in the Low German form has often been used to argue against a Low German original, since the word wrek-kio would not alliterate with rīche. However, to the Low German scop this may not have been too great a consideration, as most lines are irregular and there are even lines of prose (lines 31 and 32).

To observe that the corresponding Low German line would not alliterate is not to disprove the existence of LGo or LGw, although it does mean that this line did not originate in Low German. However, that is not fatal to the proposed

theory, which sees LGo and LGw as stages in transmission. Before the Low German stage the line could have been created, giving the Low German scop the problem of accepting an impure alliteration in his version or making up a totally different line. We assume he accepted the impurity and sang rīkie wrekkio. The Upper German background of the copyist(s) made it very easy to identify the trouble with the line and restore the alliteration. The removal of an initial letter in this case does not speak against P.I.P., because the prominence of w- in this case served only to focus attention on the spot that needed altering to make a better line in Upper German.

ni (neg. partic.)

It occurs in both dialects.

wurti (verb; indic. past, 2nd pers. sg. of werdan)

The wen-rune is used for w/uu, otherwise the form is High German. The Low German is wurdi - d = t change.

This line stands out, since it can be regarded as pure High German. The -t in dat can be explained through avoidance of z.

Line 49 wēlaga nu, waltant got quad hiltibrant wēwurt skihit

welaga (interj.)

The wen-rune is used for w/uu.

The word appears to be High German, but other than in the lay it only occurs in the Benedictine Rule. It cannot

be attested to in Low German, save for the first element wela-. The -ga element is easily remembered orally, therefore the Low German written original included welaga as a poetic interjection.

nu (adv.)

The word is the same in both dialects.

waltant (adj.; pres. p.)

The wen-rune is found for w/uu.

This is a High German spelling, the Low German having the medial and final d. d = t change.

got (noun; nom. masc. sg.)

The d = t change accounts for the change in spelling from LG god to this High German form.

quad (verb; indic. past, 3rd pers. sg. quedan)

See line 30.

hiltibrant (proper noun)

See line 3.

wēwurt (noun; nom. fem. sg.)

The wen-rune is used in the manuscript for both w/uu.

This compound cannot be found in any other High or Low German work, but both elements we- and wurt (LG wurd) are common to both dialects. So the meaning of the word was evident, and the d = t change also occurred.

The meaning of wurt is 'fate', which cannot be considered a Christian usage, so that the word is more likely preserved from Germanic pagan culture, introduced during the

oral stages of the lay's transmission yet a word which is not too offensive to Christian ideas to require finding an alternative.

skihit (verb; indic. pres., 3rd pers. sg. of skehan)

This is the High German form of a word not found at all in Low German. In Anglo-Saxon the verb is scēon, which, with skehan, comes from the same Germanic root *skeh-. It is very strange that Low German appears not to have this verb, when all other Germanic languages do. Due to this lack, skihit speaks for a High German origin.

In the proposed theory, skihit in the HGo would prompt a LGo/LGw *skihid, its meaning obvious to scop and scribe. The word may then have passed into the poetic context, any alternative involving too great a change.

Line 50. ih wallota sumaro enti wintro sehstic ur lante

ih (pron.; 1st pers. sg.)

See line 17.

wallōta (verb; indic. past, 1st pers. sg. of wallōn)

This is a High German form not found in Low German. However, Old English has weallian and Middle Low German has wallen, indicating it may have been known in Old Low German. From the context of the line, the meaning of the word would not be difficult to work out. If Low German had no equivalent, then the Low German scop and scribe retained, as part of a poetic vocabulary, wallōta, it being spelt *wallōda in the LGw, the High German copyist(s) then making d = t change.

wallota furnishes evidence for a High German origin, oral at that, with a plausible transmission through the Low German stages.

sumaro (noun; gen. masc. pl. of sumar)

This form is identical in both dialects.

enti (conj.)

See line 19. d = t change.

wintro (noun; gen. masc. pl. of wintar)

This form is identical in both dialects.

sehstic (ordinal number)

This is a Low German form (Braune 1975: § 273), usually written with g for c, and the early High German form is sehszug. The High German copyist(s) wrote the form exactly from the manuscript, but used Upper German c. Again, by retaining t, z has been avoided.

ur (prep./prefix)

This form is found in both dialects; in High German it is a prepostion with the dative case (lante), and in Low German it is a prefix. In the manuscript urlante is written together. We therefore prepose that the LGw had *in urlande, 'im Ausland', and that the copyist(s) omitted the preposition in. Kolk states that many researchers agreed that ur and lante should be written together, but none seem to have suggested that in should be included to clarify the meaning. Simply joining ur and lante together does not fully set aside the difficulty (Kolk 1967:136).

lante (noun; dat. neut. sg. of lant)

d = t change accounts for the High German form.

Line 51. dar man mih eo scerita in folc sceotantero

dar (adv.)

This is the High German spelling. The th/d = d shift has already been mentioned - see line 1.

man (indef. pron.)

The word is the same in both dialects.

mih (pron.; acc. 1st pers. sg.)

This is the High German form, which in Low German is mik (cf. ih < ik). Since the meaning is obvious, each stage of the lay's transmission used the form according to the dialect. The word fits the P.F.L.

eo (adv.)

This word is identical in both dialects.

scerita (indic. past; 3rd pers. sg. of skerren)

The word is similar in both dialects, the d = t change accounting for the variance in dialects.

in (prep. + acc.)

See line 20.

folc (noun; acc. neut. sg.)

This is identical in both dialects. In Upper German it is found as folch. Orthographically it is usual to find c for k (Braune 1975: § 142), especially in final position. This is true of both dialects.

sceotantero (noun; gen. masc. pl. - p. as noun, with adj. ending.)

The orthography, with single t, is Low German (skeotan), whereas in High German we would expect z(z): sceoz(z)anti (from skeozan). This is the normal LG t> HG z change.

In line with the reasons for tt in haetti (line 17), we could well expect to find *sceottantero in the High German copy, the geminate being the HG scribes assumed method of differentiating between LG t and HG t (<d) for this copy of the Low German by a High German scribe.

Here the High German copyist(s) has (have) kept to the assumed task and copied exactly from the original. This was due to the novelty of the word to him (them). It is the only exception to the orthographic correspondence LG t = t(t).

Line 52. so man mir at burc ēnigeru banun ni gifasta

so man (adv. and indef. pron.)

Both words are identical in High and Low German.

mir (pron.; dat. 1st pers. sg.)

See line 13.

at (prep. + dat.)

See line 27.

burc (noun; dat. fem. sg. of burg)

This is a High German spelling, especially Upper German. burg is found in Low, and also High German, especi-

ally Franconian. The c orthography is a common feature in Bavarian, linking up with the suggestion that one or both of the High German copyists was Bavarian. We assume this after many similar cases. (chunincriche (line 13), dinc (line 32), wic (line 43), sehstic (line 50).

ēnigeru (adj.; dat. fem. sg. of e(i)nig)

Here the Low German word has survived in the High German copy; the High German form is einigeru. The phonetic similarity of the Low German to his native form led the High German copyist to write exactly what he saw on the original before him. We might have expected the High German form in a word so similar in both dialects, (cf. lines 2, 6, 9, etc.). Retention of LG ē agrees with P.I.P.

banun (noun; acc. masc. sg. of bano)

Although the word bano occurs nowhere else in High German other than in this lay, according to Schützeichel (1969), it is found in Middle High German (Lexer 1963:9) as ban or bane, with the same meaning of 'death'. The word is likely to have been known in Old High German, as a part of the poetic language, and so not in ordinary use. The fact that the word appears in Middle High German suggests that the lack in Old High German is not a true indication. The High German scribe(s) added the correct High German ending -un, the word being written banon or banan in Low German. banun fits the P.I.P.

ni gifasta (neg. partic. + verb; indic. past, 3rd pers. sg. of fasten). These words are identical in both dialects.

Line 53. nu scal mih suasat chind suertu hauwan

nu (adv.)

This is identical in both dialects.

scal (verb; indic. pres., 3rd pers. sg. of sculan)

See line 37.

mih (pron.; acc. 1st pers. sg.)

See line 51.

suasat (adj.; nom. neut. sg.)

This word is a mixture of either dialect's form, the HG suasaz and the LG suas. The latter has no nominative singular strong adjective ending.

suasat is used as an important point in the argument that a High German was attempting a translation into Low German, with an -at ending (imitating the HG -az), not knowing that the Low German adjective has no ending.

On the other hand, we may offer the explanation that the Low German scop maintained the ending in the oral version to ensure rhythm of the line, the loss of -az (or -at) causing the juxtaposition of two stressed syllables. The ending -at was used in the LGw and retained in the L/HGw and Hl, since the Anglo-Saxon trained scribe(s) (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.6.) avoided the symbol z and used t.

chind (noun; nom. neut. sg.)

See line 13.

suertu (noun; instr. neut sg.)

The word is similar in both dialects, the Low German spelling written with d. d = t change. The instrumental

case without a preposition is archaic.

hauwan (verb; inf.)

The wen-rune is used in place of uu/w.

The word is the same in both dialects.

Line 54. breton mit sīnu billiu eddo ih imo ti banin werdan

breton (verb; inf.)

This word appears nowhere else in High or Low German, even its derivation being uncertain. In Old English breotan exists, meaning 'strike down', which, from the context, must be the meaning of breton.

As the only connection appears to be with Old English, this suggests a Low German origin, or even an insertion by an Anglo-Saxon. Yet it is unlikely to have been added in the LGo and LGw. In the proposed hypothesis, breton is best seen as an otherwise unrecorded poetic word known in High German, with a cognate in Old Saxon as well. The word may therefore favour either argument.

mit (prep. + dat.)

See lines 19 and 31.

sīnu (poss. adj.; instr. neut. sg.)

The word is the same in both dialects.

billiu (noun; instr. neut sg. of billi)

This is the only instance of the word appearing in Old High German. The word is Low German, but bil appears in Middle High German (Lexer I872), suggesting that the word may

well have appeared in Old High German, but was not common.

eddo (conj.)

See line 11.

ih (pron.; nom. 1st pers. sg.)

See line 17.

imo (pron.; dat. 3rd pers. sg.)

This word is identical in both dialects.

ti (prep. + dat.)

This is a Low German form, found as zi in High German. The High German copyist(s) wrote exactly as he (they) found the word in Low German written version. If it was a translation to Low German, then the scribe(s) was (were) correct, but with ih above, a straightforward word, the scribe(s) missed the mark. Again LG t has not been shifted to HG z; z is strictly avoided.

banin (noun; dat. masc. sg. of bano);

See line 52. -in is an alternative High German ending. The word fits the P.F.L.

werdan (verb; inf.)

The wen-rune is used for w/uu. đ/th = d.

Line 55. doh maht du nu aodlīhho ibu dir dīn ellen taoc

doh (conj.)

This is the High German spelling; the Low German is thoh. Once again the th/đ = d shift accounts for the variance in spelling between the dialects. Each dialect used its own form in the proposed transmission of the lay,

with *doh in the LGw.

maht (verb; indic. pres., 2nd pers. sg.)

This is the identical form in both dialects from the infinitive mugan.

du (pron; nom. 2nd pers. sg.)

See line 31. th/d = d.

nu (adv.)

This is identical in either dialect.

aodlīhho (adv.)

The spelling is High German, also found as ōdlīhho, while the Low German is ōdlīk(k)o. The medial k was shifted to h in High German, and generally the geminate was used.

* ōdlīhho was used in HGo, with *ōdlīk(k)o in the LGo and LGw, ao replacing ō in aodlīhho in the L/HGw and Hl. ao is the medial stage in the development of au to ō (Braune 1975: § 45, 2), and suggests that one of the High German scribes at least was accustomed to the older spelling. In fact ao for ō is a Bavarian feature and upholds the view that at least one of the two High German copyists proposed was Bavarian. The word goes against P.I.P. but shows a root change (cf. fōhēm line 9, gileitōs line 32, bauga line 33, etc.).

ibu (conj.)

See line 12.

dir (pron.; dat 2nd pers. sg.)

See line 35.

dīn (poss. pron.; nom. 2nd pers. sg.)

Similar in both dialects, with th/đ = d change.

ellen (noun; acc. neut. sg.)

Similar forms are found in either dialect, this being High German, and ellian Low, and also High, German, causing no problems for understanding. ellen fits the P.F.L.

taoc (verb; indic. pres., 3rd pers. sg.)

The word comes from the HG tugan; in Low German it is dōg from dugan, found in Low German only in the Old Saxon Heliand (Holthausen 1967). HG taug and LG dōg were probably the forms used in the HGo, and LGo and LGw. However, taug did not become HG *tōg, rather taoc would normally be written tauc in early Bavarian and touc later in Bavarian. (Braune 1975: § 45 and 46). Thus ao here is a variant of au, based analogically on developments like au > ao > ōdlīhho, where monophthongisation took place.

Line 56. in sus heremo man hrusti giwinnan

in (prep. + dat.)

See line 20.

The remainder of the line is identical in both dialects. The wen-rune is used for w/uu in giwinnan. It should also be noted that hr- is retained in hrusti but not in (h)ringa (line 6).

Line 57. rauba birahanen ibu du dar ēnic reht habēs

rauba (noun; acc. masc. pl.)

This word is not found in High German. In Low German it is rōfa. Cordes (1973:119) states that f̄ and b are variants of f, so that rōba (with or without the diacritic) is possible in Low German. ō remains a diphthong in Bavarian and the old au remains till 860. (Braune 1975:§46) indicating again that at least one of the High German scribes was Bavarian. The fact that the root vowel changed from LG ō to UG au may indicate that the copyist(s) knew the word roba/ rauba (cf. bauga, line 33).

birahanen (verb; inf.)

In the manuscript an h is inserted before the r, which Bostock (1976:64) regards as 'spurious'. The word, however, does not appear in either High or Low German, and no commentator has been able to shed any light on it as to its derivation. The word was probably used in the original oral version (Gothic/Langobardic), and since the meaning from the context is clear no scop or scribe altered it. The word may be a part of the poetic language used for such heroic tales, though it can no longer be attested to.

ibu (conj.)

See line 12.

du (pron.; nom. 2nd pers. sg.)

See line 31.

dar (adv.)

The th/ = d change occurs, otherwise the word is

the same in either dialect.

ēnic (adj.; acc. neut. sg.)

The final c is a High German alternative to g in ēnig, which is also Low German. The usual High German spelling is einig, which in the LGo and LGw became ēnig, the High German copyist writing it as ēnic. Final g to c is frequent in Upper German and may have been written by either of the proposed Bavarian scribes.

The word fits the P.I.P. and the P.F.L.

reht habēs (noun; acc. neut. sg. and verb; indic. pres. 2nd pers. sg. of habēn)

Both words are the same in either dialect.

Line 58. der sī doh nu argosto quad hiltibrant ōstarliuto

der (relat. pron.)

This is the HG spelling, in LG it is thē. th/d̄ = d change. The form is used according to the dialect, the meaning being clear. der fits the P.F.L.

sī (verb; 3rd pers. sg. of wesan)

The present subjunctive is identical in both dialects.

doh (adv.)

See line 55.

nu argosto quad (adv. and superl. adj. and verb; indic. past, 3rd pers. sg.)

These words are the same in both dialects. quad - see line 30.

hiltibrant (proper noun)

See line 3.

ōstarliuto (noun; gen. masc. pl.)

This word does not appear in any other High German manuscript, and in the proposed hypothesis was High German-ised from the Low German ōstarliudio. The two components of the compound are similar in both dialects, with the d = t change in liuto/liudio, so that the use of the word in transmission is not problematic. The change of Low to High German -io >-o fits the P.F.L.

According to Kolk (1967:72) ōstarliuto in the old historical sources (e.g., the Annales Laurissenses) referred to the East Falians. This seems unlikely here, especially in view of the -brant name element (line 3) and the historical Theoderick. Thus ōstarliuto refers geographically to the 'people of/in the East', the Huns, to whom reference is made twice - huneo truhtin (line 35) and du bist dir alter Hun (line 39).

Line 59. der dir nu wiges warne nu dih es so wel lustit

der (relat. pron.)

See line 58.

dir (pron.; dat. 2nd pers. sg.)

See line 35.

nu (adv.)

The word occurs in each half-line; it is identical in both dialects.

wiges (noun; gen. masc./neut. sg. of wig)

The wen-rune is used for uu/w, and the word is the same in both dialects.

warne (verb; subjunc. pres., 3rd pers. sg. of wernan)

The word is High German, while the Low German form is usually spelt wernie. warne is an unumlauted form. Although rw and rd prevent unlaut in Low German, rn is not mentioned in this respect (Holthausen 1921: § 79). warnie is unlikely in Low German. The similarity with High German caused no confusion, each stage in transmission writing the word according to the dialect. wernie and warne exemplify again the root changes in words with similar roots (cf. fōhēm line 9). warne fits the P.F.L.

dih (pron.; acc. 2nd pers. sg.)

This is the High German form, found as thik in Low German. In line with the proposed hypothesis, the LGw had *ḍik. th/ḍ = d change and also k = h as in ik:ih.

es so wel (pron.; gen. neut. sg.: adv. and adv.)

These three words are identical in both dialects. The w of wel is represented by the wen-rune.

lustit (verb; indic. pres., 3rd pers. sg. of lusten)

This is High and Low German, but Low German is also lustid.

Line 60. gūdea gimeinun niuse de mōtti

gūdea (noun; acc. fem. sg. of gundea)

This is a Low German form, generally spelt gūḍia (ḍ/th = d). High German does not have this spelling, but has gund-, only in compounds, however (e.g., gundfano = 'battleflag'). The word was probably understood by the High

German copyist(s), but points to a Low German addition.

gimeinun (adj.; nom. masc. pl.)

The High and Low German forms are phonetically and orthographically similar (HG gimeinun: LG gimēnun). The forms were used according to the dialect. Root change in similar roots occurs, ē = ei, as in gileitōs (line 32) and cheisuringu (line 34).

niuse (verb; subjunc. pres.; 3rd pers. sg. of niusen)

This is the High German form, the Low German is niusie. In general the -ie ending was changed in High German to -e (cf. warne, line 59), and so the spellings are similar. However, the word is not otherwise recorded in High German (Schützeichel 1969) but appears in Middle High German (Lexer 1872:153), which indicates that the word must have appeared earlier in High German. The word is in accord with P.F.L.

de (relat. pron.; nom. masc. sg.)

The word, with its HG d, is taken from *ḋe in the LGw. Normally the High German form is dër, which would indicate that de has undergone the automatic th/ḋ = d change from LG the/ḋe. de cannot be a High German attempt at translating into Low German, since initially only th, not d, is used in Low German (Cordes 1973:125).

mōtti (verb; subjunc. pres., 3rd pers. sg. of muoz(z)an)

The form is basically Low German, normally spelt with a single t, with a High German equivalent of muoz(z)i. mōti was found in the LGw, the High German copyist(s) in-

serting the geminate (cf. urhettun, line 2).

The word mōtti has been proposed as a noun meaning 'fight', Lachmann (1876:439) viewing it in apposition to gudea gimeinun. This would mean that de would be the definite article as in line 12. Grein (1880:35) suggested that mōtti came from OHG muozan, OS mōtan meaning 'be able to', 'have the opportunity to', and frequently line 224 of the Heliand was quoted to support the view - he niate ef he mōti. The latter view has found greater support, the view that mōtti is a noun having died out.

Line 61. hwerdar sih hiutu dero hregilo rumen muotti

hwerdar (pron.)

The initial h is absent in the manuscript - it was a phonetic feature retained by Low German after it had been lost in High German, but it is retained by editors to ensure the alliteration. w is represented by the wen-rune.

(h)werdar is High German, the Low German being hwedar, so that the first r must have been written down by the High German copyist(s).

sih (reflex. pron., acc. 3rd pers. sg.)

This is a High German word, ina being the Low German equivalent. Although the Low German scop/scribe would know sih from the context, his listeners might not be so able. Therefore, to ensure understanding, we assume *ina was used in the LGo and then the LGw, but was changed back to sih by the High German scribe(s).

As a translation to Low German, sih is impossible, and would only go to prove the inability of the translator.

hiutu (adv.)

This is a similar form in both dialects, the Low German being hiudu. d = t change.

dero (demon. adj.; gen. masc./fem./neut. pl.)

This is the High German form, spelt thero in Low German but with ð in the LGw. th/ð = d change.

hregilo (noun; gen. neut. sg.)

In this spelling, the word appears neither in High nor Low German. According to Schade (1872-1882), Old High German did possess hragil, found as hrägil or hræ̈gl in Old English. In the proposed theory *hragilo was used in the HGo, with either of the Old English forms in the HGo or in the LGo and LGw, the ä or æ becoming e in the L/HGw and Hl, ä and æ both sounding similar to the copyist(s) more accustomed to e.

rūmen (verb; inf.)

The form is similar in both dialects; rūmen is High German, rūmian the Low German form. This similarity, especially in the root, plus the obvious meaning from the context, would permit each dialect to use its own form. The word fits the P.F.L.

muotti (verb; subjunc. pres. 3rd pers. sg. of muoz(z)en)

This is an unusual mixture of both dialects, contravening both proposed principles. The High German form is muoz(z)i, the Low German mōti. However, LGw mōti was

written mōtti in the L/HGw, the geminate as in urhēttun, (cf. line 2). Long ō was diphthongised to uo, aligning itself to the trend of greater High Germanisation in the latter part of the lay (cf. hwerdar and sih).

Line 62. erdo desero brunnōno bēdero uualtan

erdo (conj.)

This is a less common spelling of the High German eddo, which is efdo or ettha in Low German. A form such as efdo would be easily recognised and would be a small matter for the High German copyist(s) to switch to his own dialect, which has become a definite trend in this final section of the lay (cf. line 61). The plan of a copy appears to have been forgotten; but certain words are similar or identical in either dialect, thus making the shift for the High German scribe(s) automatic.

desero (demon. pron.; gen. (fem.) pl.)

This is a further example of the th/ð = d change, desero being the High German spelling.

brunnōno (noun; gen. fem. pl. of brunnia/brunna)

The spelling is High German; in Low German it is brunniōno. This close similarity results in the copyist(s) writing down his own form. This is another example of the omission of the LG -i- as in seggian (line 1). The word is in accord with the P.F.L.

bēdero (numeral; gen. pl.)

This word contains the LG ē (HG ei), but LG ð/th

has been changed to HG d. The retention of LG ē is unusual in view of the presence of ei in gileitōs (line 32) and cheisuringu (line 34), showing a trend to alter vowels within similar roots. As bēdero begins a sense unit, LG ē will still be fresh in the copyist's mind, so he inserts it, but đ = d, a change that has become consistent throughout the lay.

uualtan (verb; inf.)

This is the High German spelling with medial t, spelt with d in Low German d = t change.

But for bēdero the whole line is High German, but can easily be shifted to Low German.

* efđo đesaro brunniōno bēđero ƒaldan

It can hardly be said that any attempt at translation into Low German has been attempted, even though it would be a simple matter if this were the intention.

Line 63. dō lēttun se &rist asckim scrītan

dō (conj.)

A High German word, found in the LGw as đo. th/đ = d shift.

lēttun (verb; indic. past, 3rd pers. pl.)

This word is based on LG lētun, the High German equivalent being liazun. The use of the geminate tt has been explained with urhēttun, line 2.

se (pron.; nom. 3rd pers. pl.)

See line 5.

&rist (adv.)

In the manuscript the word is written &rist, the ligature representing ē. Details about the ligature have been covered in line 2 - cf. &non. As the ligature stands for ē - ērist is identical in both dialects, but & must be a Low German inclusion and so fits P.I.P.

asckim (noun; instr. masc. pl. of ask)

According to Schützeichel (1969) asckim appears only in the lay, and nowhere else in Old High German. However, both Grimm (1956) and Holthausen (1963) give OHG asc, with the Low German as ask; so the word is similar in both dialects. The ending of asckim is High German, thereby fitting the P.F.L., whereas in Low German the ending is -ium.

scrītan (verb; inf.)

Once again, although Schützeichel (1969) claims that this is the only instance of the word in Old High German (Holthausen (1963) gives the word in the above spelling), it appears in Middle High German as schrīten, which suggests that it was known earlier in High German. The Low German form is skrīdan, therefore the two dialect forms are similar, d = t change occurring.

Kolk states that scrītan has caused problems as to its interpretation (1967:140). Jacob Grimm, he says, was the first to discuss the point in his grammar and he came up with two possible explanations. Firstly, Grimm compared the meaning with Middle High German sie liezen umbegân mit sper und mit schilde, thus giving scrītan the modern High German

meaning of 'schreiten'; and secondly with the Gothic verb skreitan (= scindere), meaning 'to tear asunder' (Kolk 1967: 140). Since the meaning of the text must be something like 'they let fly with spears', many commentators have taken tp Jacob Grimm's first explanation, centred on the Middle High German construction. We agree with this view, and add that poetically the meaning of such a word may differ from ordinary use, the poet feeling that scrītan best described the manner in which spears were projected.

Line 64. scarpēn scūrim dat in dem sciltim stōnt

scarpēn (adj.; dat. pl.)

The word scarp is Low German (HG scarpf/scarf). The adjectival ending -ēn is High German, which is -un in Low German. In transmission each scribe spelt the word according to the dialect; the word fits the P.F.L.

scūrim (noun; dat. masc. pl.)

scūr is found only in this lay in Old High German, but it has a High German ending -im (see asckim , line 63). However, Middle High German does possess the word schūr, as in the compound schūrslac meaning 'hailstorm'. Again this would suggest that schūr had its origins prior to the Middle High German period; possibly the word was not in daily use, and hence its apparent uniqueness. The LGw form scūr(i)um has been High Germanised, so fitting the P.F.L.

The words scarpēn scūrim have a parallel in the Old Saxon Heliand (line 5135) - scarpūn scūrun, possibly a

Saxon formula. The proposed hypothesis, assuming fairly direct transmission, would have to posit a High German phrase scārpem scūrim, part of a shared poetic vocabulary. This is not unreasonable, especially since we have so little Old High German of this genre.

dat (pron. - used as a collective word.)

See lines 1 and 15.

in (prep. + dat.)

See line 20.

dēm (def. article; dat. pl.)

The spelling is High German; in the LGw it was *dēm. Again the d/th = d change occurs.

sciltim (noun; dat. masc. pl. of scilt)

The word is similar in both dialects, the d = t change accounting for the variance - HG scilt: LG scild (also skild). The -im ending is High German, as in scūrim above, with -(i)um in Low German. Thus sciltim is in accord with the P.F.L.

stōnt (verb; indic. past, 3rd pers. sg. of gi-standen)

The word in this spelling is consistent with early Upper German before the change o > uo. The Low German is stōd. As alternatives to stōd, stuond is given in the Saxon Genesis (line 268), and in the Heliand the plural is written stuodun (lines 5311 and 5843). The verb in the manuscript, however, is in the singular. Therefore the meaning of this half line is: '(All) that stood in the shields' with dat as a collective, covering the preceding line and a half. The

Brothers Grimm and Lachmann, according to Kolk (1967:140 - 141), put forward this explanation, which was later supported by E. A. Kock by means of Old English parallels.

Line 65. do stōptun tōsamane staim bort chludun

do (conj.)

See line 63.

stōptun (verb; ir[illegible]c. past. 3rd pers. pl.)

In the manuscript the word is written stoptū, the final n signified by the stroke over the ū.

This word is the past tense of the LG stōpian, and has been copied exactly by the High German scribe(s). A High German equivalent is uncertain; Lachmann (1876:441) proposed OHG *stuofen or *stopen.

stōptun has been regarded as a miswriting: Müllenhoff (1873:259) suggests it was a miswriting for staptun, a view supported by Kauffmann (1896:124-17[illegible]) and Holthausen (1885:365) for stouptun. Since a similar form can be proposed, it seems reasonable to look no further.

tōsamane (adv.)

The word is a combination of LG tō and HG samane. LG tō again maintains the absence of LG z. The High German form is zesamane, with tōsamne in Low German. We assume that zesamane was used in the HGo, the Low German form tōsamne in the LGo and LGw, the High German scribes of the L/HGw and the Hl. faithfully copying tōsam- but then High Germanising the ending, thus fitting the P.F.L.

staim (noun; acc. pl.)

It is generally accepted that staim and bort form a compound and as such a poetic word that may well be retained from the HGo and earlier. In staim, the ai is High German and could easily have been interchanged with LG ē according to the dialect of the scop or scribe.

bort (noun; acc. pl.)

The word is a High German spelling, written bord in Low German - the d = t change occurring. The general meaning of bord is 'edge', which in conjunction with staim could mean the stones that could be set near the edge so that 'stone studded edge' might well appeal as a kenning for shield. The Low German also means 'shield' (cf. Heliand, lines 2933 and 2961).

As mentioned, the two words have been regarded as a compound which is found only in this lay. Krogmann (1934: 232) links it with Old Icelandic gunnbord and imunbord and Old English gudbord, hildebord and wigbord meaning 'battle-shield', a meaning that fits the context. Certainly we cannot deny the existence of staimbort in Old High German poetic language, since too little material has come down to us. The word may even have occurred in the Gothic/Langobardic original.

Meissner (1904:400-412) makes mention of historians such as Tacitus, who state how fond and proud the German tribes were of their shields, which were decorated and made to glint (Tacitus; Germania, 6). Various colours adorned

the shields of different tribes. Thus Meissner says "es liegt daher nahe genug, bei staim- an den begriff farbe zu denken" (403), a meaning to be found in the use of steinn in Scandinavian literature.

The various interpretations of staimbort chludun have been drawn together by Wagner (1922:46-53); all of them have been briefly mentioned above. Yet we must bear Kolk's words in mind when he says: "Weder das Wort als Ganzes, noch die etwaigen Verbindungen staimbort und bort-chludun, noch ein Wort chludun, sind belegt. Man ist also auf Vermutungen angewiesen" (1967:141).

chludun (verb; indic. past, 3rd pers. pl.)

The word is regarded as the past tense of klioban 'split', spelt klubun in both dialects. The d of the manuscript is assumed to be a scribal error for b in the original. In Upper German initial k is often written ch (cf. line 13), so that ch is the work of the proposed Bavarian copyist(s).

The other widespread interpretation is that chludun is the past tense of a verb meaning 'resound' (OHG hluoen 'bellow' and hlūt(t)en 'resound'). This view, however, is not preferred because initial ch corresponds to LG k, not h.

Line 66. heuwun harmlicco huītte scilti

heuwun (verb; indic. past, 3rd pers. pl.)

The wen-rune is used in the manuscript to represent uu/w.

heuwun is the past indicative of LG hauwan, which is found as heowun in High German, later as hiuwen (Braune 1975: § 354). The Low German form has been retained in the L/HGw and H1, although heowun appeared in the HGo. We would expect the High German scribe(s) to change such similar roots as in fōhēm (line 9), but the LG -eu- has been maintained, so fitting the P.I.P.

harmlīcco (adv.)

This is the Low German form, which in High German is written with geminate hh. Generally the Low German form is hārmlīk, and LG k is changed to HG ch (cf. line 13) or hh (cf. hwelīhhes, line 11). The spelling of cc for LG c (or k) is reminiscent of geminate tt for LG t between vowels. This is the only example of this geminate in Low German in the lay so that no general rule can be proposed, but it could be used for an argument that both tt and cc are graphic reminiscences of HG zz and hh. In the proposed hypothesis they are primarily responses to the long duration of the fortis consonant in Upper German. The cc in this view reflects a c in LGw which was lengthened more in psychological response to the scribe's own Bavarian [XX].

huītte (adj.; nom. pl.)

The form is essentially Low German, with (h)wīze in High German. In Low German the word is normally spelt with a single t. The geminate is in accord with the view set out, re: line 2 (cf. urhettun), and represents the LG t, distinct from HG t, shifted from LG d (cf. gihōrta, line 1).

scilti (noun; acc. masc. pl. of (skilt)).

The word is similar in both dialects, with the d = t change.

Line 67. unti im iro lintun luttilo wurtun

unti (conj.)

The spelling is High German, specificaly Upper German, the usual High German forms being anti and enti. In Low German endi and ande show similarity to the High German forms. The Bavarian copyist(s) wrote unti - at this late stage in the lay (cf. ante) there was a strong tendency to 'Bavarianise'.

im (pron.; dat. pl.)

The word is identical in both dialects.

iro (poss. adj.; gen. pl.)

The word is the same in either dialect.

lintun (noun; nom. fem. pl. of linta)

d = t change occurs, although the word does not occur in High German (Schützeichel 1969) meaning 'shield'. As a word for 'linden tree' it does appear.

luttilo (adj.; nom. fem. pl.)

luttil is the Low German spelling and is luzzil in High German, the tt retained because of the absence of z. The -o ending is High German, which is -a or -e in Low German, so this fits the P.F.L.

wurtun (verb; indic. past, 3rd pers. pl. of werdan)

The wen-rune is used for w/uu in the manuscript.

The word is the High German spelling, slightly different from the Low German, which has d for t.

Line 68. giwigan miti wābnum

giwigan (verb; p.p. of wihan)

The w/uu is represented by the wen-rune.

The word is identical in both dialects.

miti (prep. + dat.)

See line 19.

wābnum (noun; dat. neut. pl. of wāffan/wāpan)

The word is written ƿābnū in the manuscript, with the wen-rune for the w/uu and the final ū with a bar above it, denoting a following n (cf. stōptū, line 65).

wābnum is generally assumed to have been miscopied from *wāpnum the Low German form, found in the LGw. The High German equivalent is wāfnum. We postulate that it is more likely that a b was erroneously written down for a p in the original in front of the scribe, than that an f was misread and copied down as a b. Given the error of p read as b, then Low German must have been the dialect of the written original. Therefore the lay was not translated into Low German, but it was copied out of Low German.

Chapter 3. ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION.

3.1. Introduction.

The hypothesis set out in the introduction (Chapter 1, section 1.6.) will now be examined to see if it is supported by the investigation. This will entail a close look at the orthographic changes within words, with mention of words of special significance to our argument. There will follow a detailed look at a breakdown of the words of the lay into monosyllabic and polysyllabic groups, especially in reference to the two principles proposed in the introduction. Such groupings will afford a statistical evaluation of High and Low German words. We may then draw together the arguments against the translation-to-Low-German theory (Holtzmann - Baesecke). We will also do well to summarize the Anglo-Saxon influences and account for their presence in the lay, either via the translation theory or in the proposed hypothesis.

3.2. Letter correspondences.

Firstly certain letter correspondences will be reviewed which were pointed out in the first chapter (section 1.4.) and which will have become familiar in the second chapter. We assume certain Low German spellings to have been replaced by corresponding High German spellings. The correspondences are based on phonetic differences in the dialects and on scribal practices. They are partly a conscious diff-

erentiation and partly a mechanical, orthographic convention. They are not the result of a translation as such, but of a desire of one or two Bavarian scribes to preserve the lay. Purity of dialect was not of concern, but Bavarian forms came most readily to mind.

3.2.1. th/ð = d:

LG th is written d in High German, whilst þ or ð is the Anglo-Saxon equivalent. LG th occurs but once in the lay (theotrihhe, 1.19), OE ð occurs four times within the first five lines (ðat, lines 1 and 12, haðubrant, line 3, guðhamun, line 5), whereafter the simple HG d prevails through the remainder of the manuscript. In Chapter 1, (section 1.6.) A S ð, it was suggested, was used in the LGw, making the transition to HG d in the L/HGw and the Hl (except for the first four occurrences of ð and the one example of th) more plausible than were LG th present in the LGw. Even if both High German copyists had enjoyed an Anglo-Saxon education, and they had found th used in the LGw, there would be no reason to use OE ð and then switch to their native HG d; they would surely just write d throughout.

Since initial ð is not found in Low German, and since HG d and LG th, in the initial position, are not variants (Cordes 1973:125), surely a Low German copyist/translator (as proposed by Holtzmann 1864:289-293) would know that th was the normal Low German spelling in that, thero, etc. Such an elementary error is highly unlikely and makes

the supposition of translation into Low German unreasonable.

Those words which undergo the d̄ = d change will now be listed:

helidos (6), dero (6), eddo (11), du (11), du (12), de (12), ōdre (12), chūd (13), irmindeot (13), hadubrant (14), dat (15), dea (16), dat (17), hadubrant (17), nīd (18), degano (19), det (23), sīd (23), detrīhhe (23), darba (23), dat (24), degano (26), dechisto (23), deotrīchhe (26), chūd (28), quad (30), dat (31), du (31), dana (31), dinc (32), dō (33), der (34), dat (35), dir (35), hadubrant (36), widar (38), du (39), dir (39), dīnem (40), dīnu (40), du (41), dat (42), seolīdante (42), dat (43), dīnem (46), dat (47), du (47), dat (48), du (48), desemo (48), quad (48), dar (51), eddo (54), doh (55), du (55), du (57), dar (57), der (58), doh (58), quad (58), der (59), dir (59), dih (59), gūdea (60), de (60), hwerdar (61), dero (61), erdo (62), desero (62), bēdero (62), dō (63), dat (64), dō (65).

Total: 73 occurrences.

chludun (65) is not included here, since the d has in all liklihood been misread for b (cf. line by line investigation).

The d̄ = d is significant because it indicates Anglo-Saxon influence and it refutes the theory of a translation to Low German.

3.2.2. d = t:

This change has the most frequent occurrence of

all, found 117 times, and occurs in all positions. Those words affected are listed below:

gihōrta (1), muotin (2), hiltibrant (3), enti (3) hadubrant (3), untar (3), sunufatarungo (4), rihtun (4), garutun (5), gurtun (5), suert (5), hiltiu (6), ritun (6), hiltibrant (7), gimahalta (7), heribrantes (7), frotoro (8), gistuont (8), wortun (9), fater (9), irmindeot (13), hadubrant (14), gimahalta (14), hiltibrantes (14), sagētun (15), liuti (15), alte (16), anti (16), frōte (16), hiltibrant (17), fater (17), hadubrant (17), otachres (18), miti (18), theotrihhe (19), enti (19), lante (20), prūt (21), raet (22), detrīhhe (23), gistuontun (23), fatereres (24), friuntlaos (24), otachre (25), miti (26), deotrīchhe (26), ente (27), irmingot (30), hiltibrant (30), halt (31), mit (31), gileitōs (32), want (33), wuntane (33), gitan (34), truhtin (35), hadubrant (36), gimalta (36), hiltibrantes (36), mit (37), ort (38), orte (38), altēr (39), mit (40), wortun (40), gialtet (41), inwit (41), fōrtōs (41), sagētun (42), seolidante (42), wentilseo (43), tōt (44), hiltibrant (44), heribrantes (44), hiltibrant (45), gimahalta (45), heribrantes (45), gōten (47), wurti (48), waltant (49), got (49), hiltibrant (49), wēwurt (49), skihit (49), wallōta (50), enti (50), lante (50), scerita (51), sceotantero (51), suertu (53), breton (54), mit (54), taoc (55), hiltibrant (58), ostarliuto (58), lustit (59), hiutu (61), waltan (62), scrītan (63), sciltim (64),

stōnt (64), scilti (66), unti (67), lintun (67), wurtun (67), miti (68).

This change, which occurs with no exception and is found within the very first line, appears automatic, a mechanical reaction to encountering LG d. inwit (41) shows the change from LG inwid, yet the proper High German spelling is inwitti. Clearly inwit is a superficially High Germanised form of LG inwid. miti is a similar case, since High German is usually mit, whereas the Low German is midi. In these words we have evidence of the Low German written original.

The consistent appearance of t for LG d seems to refute the translation theory, for the exceptionless retention of HG t in Holtzmann's proposed 'translation' to Low German shows a most improbable disregard for or ignorance of a prominent feature of Low German. The latter argument cannot suggest that t was retained as a Low German would understand it, for Cordes states that in Low German neither initial nor intervocalic nor final t is a variant of d (1973:123). Hence the significance of the d = t change is that it favours the proposed hypothesis over the Holtzmann - Baesecke thesis.

3.2.3. t = t:

LG t does not change in the initial and final position. We might have expected HG z, but as proposed in the first chapter, section 1.4. , this letter is avoided, suggesting another link with Old English, where z is not

normally used; thus t is retained.

dat (1), dat (2), tuēm (3), tō (6), wēt (12), dat (15), dat (17), giweit (18), furlaet (20), dat (24), at (27), ti (27), dat (31), dat (35), it (35), ummet (39), dat (42), dat (43), dat (47), dat (48), at (52), suasat (53), ti (54), dat (64), tōsamane (65).

Initial and final LG t is retained in monosyllabic words or ones in which the stressed syllable is final, as seen from the 25 occurrences found in the lay and listed above.

3.2.4. t = tt:

The geminate tt occurs medially between vowels in polysyllabic words. It is introduced so as to differentiate between medial LG t and HG t , the latter corresponding to LG d (as seen above), thus avoiding confusion. There are only 9 occurrences:

urhēttun (2), hætti (17), heittu (17), ummettirri (25), wēttu (30), mōtti (60), muotti (61), lēttun (63), huītte (66).

There is one exception to this otherwise consistent phenomenon: sceotantero (51), where we expect *sceottantero.

It was Grimm and later Holtzmann, proposing his translation theory, who held the opinion that tt was simply an imitation of z(z) in the High German written original (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.4.). However, if we take the word

ummettirri (25), it is possible to show how unsound Holtzmann's argument is. A detailed explanation of this word has been set out in the previous chapter. The geminate tt has given rise to the false spelling of irri in several 'Lesebücher'; for example, Braune (1969), gives the word as tirri or zirri. According to Schützeichel (1969), neither appears anywhere except in the lay, which is hardly surprising.

Another consideration is that HG ummez has but a single z, and so, following Holtzmann's view of imitation, the Low German should have a single -t-. Further, if we accept tt as an imitation of zz, we must also accept that the translator had but a minimal knowledge of Low German, which is unlikely as Holtzmann states that a Low German was at work.

The lay also contains luttila (20), sitten (20), and luttilo (67), where the geminate is the correct Low German spelling whose retention maintains the avoidance of z. Here, as in most of the words with geminate tt, it is incidental that the High German forms are spelt with zz. Indeed, High German does not always have zz, since simplification of the geminate is normal after long vowels and diphthongs (Braune 1975: § 87). A glance at the above list shows that every example, except ummettirri, has tt in that position, where High German would normally have z. Only Upper German commonly has zz after long vowels and diphthongs, leaving the explanation through Bavarian scribes unaffected (Braune 1975: § 92).

The t = tt correspondence serves therefore to

weaken rather than support the Holtzmann - Baesecke view and is better explained within the proposed hypothesis; indeed we have been able to expose the falseness of tirri/zirri.

3.2.5. k/c = ch:

This change occurs 16 times in the Hl.

folche (10), chind (10), chunincrīche (13), chūd (13), otachres (18), otachre (25), dechisto (26), folches (27), chūd (28), chōnnem (28), cheisuringu (34), chuning (34), rīche (48), chind (53), chludun (65).

The spelling in the LGw could well have been c, or c and k mixed. As seen in the previous chapter, chūd, being a nonsense word in Bavarian, supplies evidence that the orthographic change was a regular and largely mechanical change.

3.2.6. k/c = h(h):

In all there are 15 examples of this change:

(h)welīhhes (11), ih (17), theotrīhhe (19), detrīhhe (23), ih (29), ih (35), mih (40), mih (40), ih (46), ih (50), mih (50), mih (53), ih (54), aodlīhho (55), dih (59).

As mentioned in connection with rīche in the previous chapter, the geminate hh is found in the oldest sources (Braune 1975: § 144), indicating that one of the copyists was older and had been accustomed to hh, while ch in rīche was probably introduced by a later or younger scribe.

3.2.7. k/c = chh:

The only example of chh in deotrīchhe (26) probably results from an earlier *deotrīhhe influenced by the later ch spelling for hh (Braune 1975: § 144).

3.2.8. k/c = cc:

There is only one example, harmlīcco (66), which has been dealt with in the previous chapter.

3.2.9. kk = cch:

In the word reccheo (48) we can see the change from the LG wrekkio. However, HG dechisto (26) shows the ch, which corresponds to LG k; but the Low German equivalent is dekkisto. Thus the scribe(s) saw only k in the Low German word, or else inserted ch in error for cch.

3.2.10. Other consonantal changes.

Further consonantal changes support our proposed hypothesis; they are g = c and b = p. Neither change is consistent (chuning, line 34 and barn, line 21, among others); both changes indicate Bavarian influence and link up with our suggestion that at least one of the two scribes was Bavarian. Both b and g are normally found in High and Low German.

g = c: chunincrīche (13), dinc (32), wic (43), sehstic (50) burc (52), taoc (55), ēnic (57).

b = p: prūt (21), leop (27), gap (34), pist (41).

This change occurs only initially and finally, yet not consistently so, as mentioned. Medially, b is retained - gibu (35) and geba (37).

In order to explain UG c and p (or any other Upper Germanism) in the Hl within the translation theory (Holtzmann), we must assume that the Low German translation was copied by Upper Germans, for such masses of Upper German forms are quite impossible in a Low German translation reasonably conceived. But if we attribute Upper Germanisms to copyists, copying becomes the reason for the dialect mixture, and this can no longer be used as a reason for supposing a translation. Of course, a translation could have taken place before the dialect mixing, but the forms in the texts can no longer be used in the argument supporting such an idea; in any case, both theories then coincide in supposing dialect mixture after a LGw. The close investigation of the orthographic correspondences therefore reveals repeatedly that there is no evidence for a translation into Low German, but that High Germanisation or Bavarianisation of a LGw over at least two stages in transmission is probable.

3.2.11. Summary for consonantal changes.

The k changes also favour the proposed hypothesis simply by weakening the translation theory; they emphasize the inability or the lack of knowledge of the translator, since the lay shows the High German changes. Considering that ik (lines 1 and 12) at first appears in correct Low

German but thereafter various High German spellings for Germanic k occur, we are asked to imagine a translator who knows the correct simple spelling but soon goes over to various more complex spellings found in High German. There never was such a translator. On the other hand, the appearance of unshifted k only near the beginning fits the proposed hypothesis perfectly. Further, we were able to see in hh and ch evidence of an earlier and a later copy.

3.2.12. Vowel changes.

Apart from consonantal changes, there are also many vowel changes. These occur in the roots of words, yet the changes are not consistent, as will be clearly seen. The vowel changes signify the orthographic differences between Low and High German, the shift generally being from a Low German vowel to a High German diphthong.

ē > ei : heittu (17), gihúeit (18), gileitōs (32), cheisuringu (34), gimeinun (60).

ē ≯ ei : urhēttun (2), ēnan (12), wēt (12), hēme (47), ēnigeru (52), ēnic (57), bēdero (62).

ĕ > a : warne (59).

a > ō : fōhēm (9).

ō > ao : laosa (22), aodlihho (55), taoc (55).

ō > au : bauga (33), rauba (57)

o > u : ubar (6)

ō > uo : muotin (2), gistuont (8), cnuosles (11), gistuontun (23), muotti (61).

ō ≠ uo : gistōntun (26), fōrtōs (41), gōten (47).

Of the 28 possible root vowel changes, ten show that the Low German vowel has been retained. Reasons for the retention have been given in the second chapter.

Lines	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-68
LG vowels	1	2	1	-	3	2	1
HG vowels	2	-	-	-	-	1	-
HG diphthongs	2	3	2	3	-	4	1

Fig. 1. Distribution of Low and High German vowels/diphthongs.

From the above chart we can see that High German diphthongs occur on average earlier than Low German vowels, which runs counter to P.I.P. If the P.I.P. is correct, then the diphthongs must have existed in the LGw. Indeed, LG ē and ō have interesting variants. Cordes (1973: § 2.12) and Holthausen (1921: § 31) both show ei as a variant of ē, and Cordes (1973: § 2.14 and 2.145) gives uo as a variant of ō from Gmc ō. Holthausen (1921: § 31) gives au and ou as variants of ō from Gmc au. Holthausen explains that numerous High German spellings appear as a result of scribal influence from the south.

3.2.13. Summary for vowel changes.

The vowel changes are not consistent in the lay, and as such can be more readily explained in the proposed hypothesis. The translation theory proposed by Holtzmann does not reasonably account for this lack of uniformity, and requires us to make allowances for the translator.

It is significant that when we found an unexpected

distribution (cf. fig. 1), it turned out to be explicable through High German influence on the LGw and did not have to be considered as counter evidence for the proposed hypothesis, that is, it did not show that the original must have been High German.

3.2.14. Conclusion.

If we look at all the orthographic changes, then we must conclude that the manuscript is not a translation from High German. We find a strong indication for a LGw in the initial use of OE d, whilst the changes d = d, d = t and k/c = h/hh/chh/cc and kk = cch, especially the consistent d = t, confirm our proposed hypothesis.

3.3.0. Statistical analysis.

We will now proceed with another check on the principles proposed in this thesis. The entire vocabulary will be broken down into monosyllables and polysyllables, so that final unstressed syllables may be compared with each other for assessing final lability. It is possible that the division will reveal significant differences.

Further, each of the above groups has been broken down again into parts of speech so as to discover whether pronouns are changed to High German or left unaltered more easily than verbs, and so on. The conclusions drawn from

such groupings will then help to determine the legitimacy of the two proposed principles, those of (initial) prominence and of final lability.

A further breakdown is undertaken to reveal any possible differences related to dialect. Within the monosyllabic and polysyllabic divisions, the parts of speech will be set out under four headings: Low German, High German, Identical and Hybrid. 'Identical' signifies words whose spelling is the same in either High or Low German, and little use can be made of them for present purposes. 'Hybrid' denotes words that combine aspects of both dialects.

3.3.1. MONOSYLLABLES.

	Low German	Hybrid	High German	Identical
pronouns	ik (1, 12) mi (12, 12, 15, 42) it (35) dat (1, 2) dat (15, 17, 24, 31, 33, 42, 43, 47, 48, 64)	her (7, 8, 18, 20, 22, 25, 27, 28, 33)	sih (2, 5, 61) hwer (9) du (11, 12, 31, 39, 41, 47, 48, 55, 57) de (12, 60) mir (11, 52) ih (17, 29, 35, 46, 50, 54) der (34, 58, 59) dir (35, 39, 55, 59) mih (40, 40, 51, 53) dīn (55) dih (59) dem (64)	se (5, 34, 63) sie (6) sīn (9) mīn (17) man (37, 51, 52) es (59) im (67)

	Low German	Hybrid	High German	Identical
verbs	wēt (12)	raȥ (22)	want (33) gap (34) pist (41)	was (7, 24, 25, 27, 27, 28) sīs (11) ist (13, 44) flōh (18) quad (30, 49, 58). scal (37, 53) bist (39) maht (55) si (58)
nouns			chind (13, 53) nīd (18) prūt (21) līb (29) dinc (32) ort (38) wic (43) got (49) burc (52) staim (65) bort (65)	man (7, 24, 31, 41, 56) barn (21) hun (39) folc (51) reht (57)
prepositions	tō (6, 65) at (27, 52) ti (27, 54)		in (10, 13, 20, 21, 46, 51, 56, 64) ab (30) mit (31, 37, 40, 54) ar (33)	bi (35, 48) ur (50)
adverbs, adjectives, conjunctions	tuēm (3)	chūd (13, 28) dȥ (23)	dō (6, 33, 63, 65) sid (23) halt (31) tōt (44) dar (51, 57) doh (55, 58)	al (13) forn (18) her (18) so (24, 34, 41, 52, 59) eo (27, 27, 51) ni (29, 32, 48, 52) iu (29) sus (31, 56, nu (35, 49, 53, 55, 58, 59, 59)

	Low German	Hybrid	High German	Identical
adverbs, adjectives, conjunctions, cont'd				noh (48) wel (59)

Let us examine the Low German monosyllables. LG mi occurs early in the lay, apart from mi in line 42a, but that half-line (dat sagetun mi) is identical to line 15a. The half-line appears formulaic, like the opening line of the lay. HG mir occurs later with an average line of 31.5, whereas for mi the average line is 20, supporting P.I.P..

The Low German monosyllables show that d and k are used at the start of the lay, and t occurs throughout. t is used, we believe, because an Anglo-Saxon educated High German copyist avoided z (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.4.) so that t was used in his High German spelling. Since t is retained from LGw simply to avoid z, it does not imply survival of the Low German form as does unshifted k or p. It is a systematic retention just as d = t is a systematic change. We therefore show in the chart on page 158 Low German with and without the t— examples to reveal the different pattern of the remainder, which is preserved in accord with our principles. The stronger concentration of the remaining Low German examples in the first half of the lay confirms not only our principles but also our interpretation of the t(t) question.

The hybrid monosyllables are few and of little

value as evidence, apart from chūd, which has been dealt with in the previous chapter.

The regular correspondences, which have been dealt with earlier in this chapter (3.2.0. - 3.2.14), account for most of the High Germanisations; these changes occur in all positions and must be discounted for assessing P.I.P. and P.F.L. Exceptions to them must be considered, however.

The pronouns hwer, mir, ih, dir, mih, dih have been High Germanised, final letters having been changed (k = h in ih, mih, dih) or added (r in hwe, mi, di), both groups supporting the P.F.L.

gap, dinc, wic and burc, which all occur in the second half of the lay, so supporting P.F.L., show final devoicing, yet chūd, nīd, līb, ab, and sid have no final devoicing. The first group is typical of Old Upper German, while the second group has the final consonants of Franconian or even Low German. Change in the final position again supports P.F.L. The occurrence of pist and prut does not run counter to P.I.P., because High (Upper) German forms occur so frequently that one expects their spread to be fairly even throughout the lay.

Of the monosyllabic words, only five High German forms appear in the first ten lines (cf fig. 2 below) of the text but thereafter, as expected in P.F.L., the numbers increase. The Low German monosyllables also total five in the first ten lines but then, as expected in P.I.P., their frequency of occurrence drops further towards the end. Thus

positive results for the proposed hypothesis are obtained from all three usable groups of monosyllables. Numerically the High German words exceed the Low German words on a ratio of just under 3:1, this without addition of those words that are identical in either dialect.

Lines	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-68
High German	5	9	6	18	10	22	7
Low German	5	7	3	3	5	2	2
Low German without t/tt	1	4	-	-	1	-	-
Hybrid	2	3	8	-	-	-	-
Identical	5	7	13	11	9	21	2

Fig. 2. Distribution of all monosyllables.

The distribution of Hybrids is also supportive. According to P.I.P. the greatest influence of Low German is at the start of the lay, but High German dominates in the lay as a whole. It is therefore natural that Hybrids occur only in the first half of the lay.

An interesting point is the close numerical link between the High German and Identical word groupings, words that are identical even surpassing the High German monosyllables between lines 21-30. Within the proposed hypothesis, the large number of identical words can be seen as having lulled the High German copyist(s) into thinking that the lay was in large part High German, and so induced him (them) albeit subconsciously, to use his (their) own dialect.

POLYSYLLABLES.

3.3.2. Nouns.

Low German	Hybrid	High German	Identical
urhēttun (2)	sunufatarungo (4)	hiltibraht (3, 7, 30, 45)	herium (3)
gūđ(hamun) (5)	irmindeot (13)	hadubrant (3, 17)	saro (4)
helidos (6)	theotrihhe (19)	suert (5)	(gūđ)hamun (5)
hevane (30)	irmingot (30)	hiltiu (6)	hringa (6)
gūdea (60)	hrustim (46)	heribrantes (7, 44, 45)	sunu (7, 14, 36)
	sceotantero (51)	wortun (9, 40)	filu (19)
	wābnum (68)	fater (9, 17)	bure (21)
		folche (10)	feheta (27)
		fireo (10)	mannum (28)
		cnuosles (11)	arme (33)
		chunincriche (13)	huneo (35)
		hiltibrantes (14, 36)	huldi (35)
		hadubraht (14, 36)	gēru (37)
		liuti (15)	geba (37)
		hiltibrant (17, 44, 49, 58)	speru (40)
		otachres (18)	suno (44, 45)
		degano (19, 26)	hērron (47)
		lante (20, 50)	sumaro (50)
		arbeo (22)	wintro (50)
		detrihhe (23)	billiu (54)
		darba (23)	hrusti (56)
		fatereres (24)	wiges (59)
		otachre (25)	hregilo (61)
		deotrichhe (26)	
		ente (27)	
		folches (27)	
		bauga (33)	
		cheisuringu (34)	
		chuning (34)	
		truhtin (35)	
		orte (38)	
		inwit (41)	
		seolidante (42)	
		wentilseo (43)	
		reccheo (48)	
		riche (48)	
		wewurt (49)	
		banun (52)	
		suertu (53)	
		banin (54)	
		ellen (55)	

Low German	Hybrid	High German	Identical
		rauba (57)	
		ostarliuto (58)	
		brunnono (62)	
		asckim (63)	
		sciltim (64)	
		scurim (64)	
		scilti (66)	
		lintun (67)	

With regard to the Low German polysyllabic nouns, Schützeichel (1969) informs us that gūđhamun, gūdea, helidos and hevane are found nowhere else in High German, though the elements gūđ (HG gund) and hamo are attested. It is reasonable to suppose that these words have a special impact on the scribe because of their rarity or poetic effect. They are prominent for this reason and thus support our general contention that prominence preserves. They do not have to be close to the beginning. The nasal loss in gūđ is markedly deviant from High German and hence prominent for the scribe(s), who would be much more attentive to copying unusual forms exactly. All the above Low German nouns have been retained, therefore, owing to their prominence. Only one word has a uniquely Saxon ending, helidos, the noun helid appearing High Germanised (đ = d), but only attested in Old Saxon.

sunufatarungo, among the Hybrid nouns, is unique to High German (Schützeichel 1969). fatar is High German (LG fadar), but we take -o for final -os, which is a Low German nominative plural ending, noting that it has been changed (cf. helidos). irmingot and irmindeot are compounds whose initial element irmin- is not attested in High German

(Schützeichel 1969), which indicates that the element either belonged to a poorly recorded poetic language, or was introduced in the Low German stage of the lay's transmission. The latter seems quite possible, with irmingot and irmindeot replacing pagan words or ideas. The final elements got (LG god) and deot (LG thiod) undergo regular changes. Thus the Low German element is followed by the High German word. theotrīhhe commences with LG th and then continues with HG hh (for LG k). hrustim is a Low German noun with typical hr- not found in High German, but the inflexion is High German. wābnum shows LG wāp- (if b is miscopied for p), whilst -num suits both dialects. Thus in all the Hybrid nouns the Low German element commences the word which concludes with the High German form, so fitting P.I.P. and P.F.L. (but we do not count as evidence instances of d = t, because this is an exceptionless change.)

Regular orthographic changes account for 51 of the 64 High German nouns, while root vowel changes occur 5 times. There are 9 examples of uniquely High German endings, contrasting with the Low German -iu and -os and supporting P.F.L. The nouns, being of frequent occurrence, occur throughout the text, as can be seen from the following chart.

Lines	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-68
High German	10	11	10	8	12	7	6
Low German	3	-	1	-	-	1	-
Low German (no t/tt)	2	-	1	-	-	1	-

Lines	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-68
Hybrid	1	2	1	-	1	1	1
Hybrid (no t/tt)	1	1	1	-	1	-	1
Identical	5	2	3	7	5	3	1

Fig. 3. Distribution of polysyllabic nouns

At every stage the number of High German nouns surpasses the Low German total, overall the ratio being close to 11:1 without the inclusion of those words identical in either dialect. This ratio is significantly greater than 3:1 for the monosyllables, the reason being that longer words allow the scribe(s) more time to forget the Low German. Three of the Low German nouns, over half of the total Low German polysyllabic nouns in the lay, appear in the first ten lines; nevertheless, their total is less than one third of the ten High German nouns in these lines. If we exclude those Low German words with t or tt used for the absence of HG z, the remaining two Low German nouns total but one fifth of the number of High German nouns in the first ten lines. The frequency of High German nouns diminishes in the last 18 lines, yet it still exceeds that of the Low German nouns, even with those in the Hybrid and Identical groupings combined. The polysyllabic, unlike the monosyllabic, Hybrids are evenly spread, so cannot be supportive of P.I.P. or P.F.L.

The High German polysyllabic nouns maintain the numerical dominance present among all the monosyllables, which does not favour the translation-to-Low-German theory.

3.3.3. Verbs.

Low German	Hybrid	High German	Hybrid
furlaet (20)	seggen (1)	gihōrta (1)	wari (9)
wānіu (29)	heittu (17)	muotin (2)	warun (16)
werpan (40)	hatti (17)	rihtun (4)	
stōptun (55)	gihúeit (18)	garutun (5)	gibu (35)
heuwun (66)	sitten (20)	gurtun (5)	spenis (40)
	habbe (29)	ritun (6)	wili (40)
	wēttu (30)	gimahalta (7, 14, 45)	gisihu (46)
	mōtti (60)	fragēn (8)	habēs (47, 57)
	muotti (61)	gistuont (8)	gifasta (52)
	lēttun (63)	sagēs (12)	hauwan (53)
		sagētun (15,42)	werdan (54)
		gistuontun (23)	giwinnan (56)
		gileitōs (32)	bihrahanen (57)
		gitān (34)	chludun (65)
		gimalta (36)	giwigan (68)
		infāhan (37)	
		fōrtōs (41)	
		furnam (43)	
		wurti (48)	
		skihit (49)	
		wallōta (50)	
		scerita (51)	
		bretōn (54)	
		taoc (55)	
		warne (59)	
		lustit (59)	
		niuse (60)	
		rūmen (61)	
		waltan (62)	
		scritan (63)	
		stōnt (64)	
		wurtun (67)	

None of the Low German verbs listed above appears as early in the lay as might be expected, but furlaet appears in the first half of the lay; the other three verbs may have appeared prominent to the scribe(s). Their visual impression may have remained strong, so accounting for the retention of the Low German spelling, but they do not support P.I.P.

The ten Hybrid words may be summarised as follows: seggen, habbe, wēttu and sitten all fit both P.I.P. and

P.F.L.

hætti, mōtti and lēttun have Low German root vowels, but tt is a part High Germanisation. Hence Low German precedes High German.

heittu, gihúeit, muotti apparently go counter to P.I.P. because of High German root vowels. That is illusory since ei and uo are variants found in Low German due to High German influence (Holthausen 1921: § 31 and Cordes 1973: § 2.12, 2.14, 2.145.). Here, where High German seems to precede LG t(t) and confound our principles, we can find a good explanation.

All of the High German verbs, with the exception of fragēn (8), infāhan (37) and furnam (43), have been affected by one orthographic change or another. infāhan is High German by virtue of the prefix, which might also be the case with furnam, although fur- can also be Old Saxon. fragēn (LG fragōn), together with warne (LG wernie), niuse (LG niusie), and rūmen (LG rūmian) all fit P.F.L. since their changes consist of substituting a High German ending.

gimahalta can mean 'speak' only in Low German. We therefore see this as a good example of a Low German word (gima(ha)lda) mechanically High Germanised without much regard for meaning. bretōn cannot be attested in either dialect, whereas skihit and wallōta cannot be attested in Low German. It does not seem likely that either of the last two words would be used in a translation to Low German; the Low German scribe would surely seek alternatives. Within the proposed hypothesis, gimahalta was introduced by the Low German scop.

From the few lines in which the verb appears, it is formulaic and as such not essential to the effect of the lay. Both skihit and wallôta, we imagine, were retained from the HGo for poetic effect, their meanings being clear from the context.

Lines	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-68
High German	9	3	1	4	7	6	5
Low German	-	1	-	1	-	-	2
Hybrid	1	4	2	-	-	1	2
Hybrid - no t/tt	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
Identical	1	1	1	3	2	6	2

Fig. 4. Distribution of polysyllabic verbs.

The High German verbs exceed even the other three groups in total. The distribution is uneven, with a large number of High German verbs in the first ten lines tailing off and then increasing during the final twenty-eight lines. Only in lines 11-20 are the High German verbs exceeded, and that is by the Hybrid group, otherwise High German dominates. Not even in conjunction with the Identical verbs do the Low German verbs approach the number and spread of the High German verbs. The Hybrid verbs occur again, as expected in the proposed hypothesis, chiefly in the first half of the lay. When Hybrid verbs containing t or tt are excluded, the remaining verbs are found exclusively within the first half of the lay.

We imagine that within the translation theory

these action words, so essential to the vividness of the account, would surely display greater Low Germanising than actually occurs. Again the translation theory is cast in doubt faced with the above facts, which on the other hand, do fall largely into line with the proposed hypothesis. Only a very small group of four Low German verbs may be seen to run counter to P.I.P.

3.3.4. Adjectives, Pronouns, Adverbs.

	Low German	Hybrid	High German	Identical
Adjectives	ænon (2) ōdre (12) enan (12) luttila (20) irri (25) hwītte (66) luttilo (67)	ūsere (15) sippan (31) gōten (47) sehstic (50) suasat (53)	hērōro (7) frōtōro (8) fōhem (9) alte (16) frōte (16) laosa (22) friuntlaos (24) dechisto (26) leop (27) chōnnēm (28) wuntane (33) altēr (39) spahēr (39) gialtet (41) waltant (49) scarpēn (64)	ferahes (8) unwahsan (21) ēwin (41) hēremo (56) argōsto (58) bēdero (62)
Pronouns			dero (6, 61) hwelihhes (11) dea (16) dīnem (40, 46) dīnu (40) inan (43) desemo (48) hwerdar (61) desero (62)	iro (4, 5, 5, 67) sīnero (19) mīnes (24) imo (27, 34, 54) ēnigeru (52) sīnu (54) ēnic (57)
Adverbs	ummet (25, 39) hēme (47) ærist (63)		hina (19, 22) dana (31) aodlīhho (55) gimeinun (60)	ana (5) ērhina (16) ostar (18, 22) obana (30)

	Low German	Hybrid	High German	Identical
Adverbs			hiutu (61) samane (65) harmlīcco (66)	neo (31) also (41) westar (43) wela (46)

The Low German adjectives and adverbs are spread thinly throughout the lay, at least one of these words within each of the ten-line divisions except lines 51-60 (cf. fig. 5 below). Lines 61-68 include three Low German items, which is unusual, since most Low German forms are amassed at the start of the lay, with more High German forms towards the end. However, the three Low German forms in question, hwītte (66), &rist (63) and luttilo (67), display Low German features which are understandably retained. The geminate tt for Low German t in an intervocalic position is used since HG z is avoided throughout the lay, this is also why the geminate in luttilo, and also luttila (20), usual in Low German, is kept. & in &rist can partly be explained away because the ligature is prominent in the initial position. In ummettirri, the geminate is found, since the t of ummet is mistakenly regarded as intervocalic because irri was written so close as to make the two words appear as one. &rist and &non (2) have the original initial ligature, so fitting P.I.P., and the non-Bavarian, non-High German nasal loss in ōdre (12) has ensured its Low German orthography (prominence through unusualness). In fact, the whole of line 12 except for initial ibu and sages is Low German, so

accounting for LG ēnan. The presence of LG hēme is contrary to the generality of the root vowel change in similar words in either dialect, and its appearance in the second half of the lay must be regarded as exceptional. Perhaps the fact that hēme is prominent in its line gave it a better chance of being copied exactly.

These Low German forms were unaltered in the copying for various reasons: their rarity value, their prominence within a line, the absence of z in the entire lay, or early occurrence.

The Hybrid words ūsere (15), gōten (47) and sehstic (50) commence with Low German forms - although the ō of gōten may be older Bavarian (cf. previous chapter) - whereafter High German features are added. In the case of gōten we find LG (?) gō- + HG -t- + LG -en, which must surely deny the translation theory. If the translator managed to write LG ō and -en correctly, how can the inability to change the simpler HG t > LG d be explained? According to our hypothesis, the copyist(s), coming across LG *gōden, merely effected the regular d = t change, thereby creating the unusual form.

Together with sippan the above Hybrid adjectives illustrate the wavering of the copyist(s), caught between the pull of a native High German dialect and the repeatedly renewed visual impression of Low German written forms.

We should disregard the differences between High and Low German forms which are explained entirely through the orthographic changes mentioned earlier in this chapter.

Certain High German adjective endings, however, show other differences from the Low German: hēroro (LG hērora), frōtoro (LG frōdora), fōhem (LG fahum), chōnnem (LG kōnum), alter (LG ald), spaher (LG spahi), scarpēn (LG scarpun). The High German words in this grouping are consistent with the proposed hypothesis; a Low German form commences a word and a High German ending concludes it. All orthographic changes are regular.

suasat proves rather puzzling. The Low German is suas, with no adjective ending, contrasting with inflected suasaz in High German. suasat as a translation into Low German would be wrong, since the Low German adjective has no ending in its context. It seems more plausible to suggest, as stated in the line by line investigation, that the scop of the LGw wrote suasat, so ensuring the rhythm of the line. The subsequent copyist(s) maintained -at, avoiding the symbol z, which was uncommon to an Anglo-Saxon trained scribe.

The High German copyist(s) elsewhere added High German adjective endings, where in Low German none existed within the context: alter (39) and spaher (39). Thus suasat is consistent with these examples and all support the P.F.L.

Lines	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-68
High German	4	5	6	6	5	2	7
Low German	1	3	2	1	1	-	3
Low German (no t/tt)	1	2	1	-	1	-	1

Lines	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-68
Hybrid	-	1	-	1	2	1	-
Hybrid (no t/tt)	-	1	-	1	1	-	-
Identical	5	3	5	2	4	6	2

Fig. 5. Distribution of polysyllabic adjectives, pronouns, adverbs.

The chart shows the increase in High German forms per ten-lines as far as lines 31-40 whereafter there is a decrease, but in the final eight lines seven High German forms appear. The Low German forms are much less in evidence throughout the lay, whilst the Identical words make their presence felt throughout.

The second line, showing Low German adjectives and adverbs, excludes those words in the list (3.3.4.) containing t or tt, which we assume replaces z(z), avoided throughout the lay. This diminishes further the frequency of Low German words, leaving six of the eleven listed. The same has been undertaken with the Hybrids (see Hybrid (no t/tt), fig. 5 above), revealing a diminution of occurrences towards the end of the lay. In both instances we see the expected pattern more clearly, and it shows that t/tt is not really a Low German feature in the lay.

3.3.5. Prepositions and Conjunctions

High German	Hybrid
enti (3, 19, 50)	miti (19, 26, 68)
untar (3)	

High German	Hybrid
ubar (6, 43)	
eddo (11, 54)	
ibu (12, 55, 57)	
anti (16)	
widar (38)	
welaga (49)	
erdo (62)	
unti (67)	

As a class, prepositions and conjunctions are non-prominent and so may be changed, even though they are very different, into High German - eddo (LG efdo), ibu (LG ef), erdo (LG efdo), or though they involve initials- enti, anti, unti; ubar, obar . We have here a corollary of our principle of prominence.

Countering the argument that the Hl. is a translation to Low German, we may point out that any translator would know the simple word for 'with' in the target language, here LG midi. However, we find miti, composed of HG mit plus the final -i from the Low German form. For the proposed hypothesis, however, the case is clear. LGw midi underwent the regular d = t change and nothing else. The hybrid miti is used twice before line 30, after which the HG mit takes over (4 occurrences) and miti makes only one more appearance unexpectedly near the end of the lay. The general picture is again perceptible, one in which hybrids occur predominantly in the first half of the lay.

Lines	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-68
High German	3	4	-	1	3	3	2
Hybrids	-	1	1	-	-	-	1

Fig. 6. Distribution of polysyllabic prepositions and conjunctions.

The figures need no explanation, save to say the translation theory appears unconvincing.

3.4.0. Synthesis.

The word count in the Hildebrandslied totals 448, and the breakdown under monosyllabic and polysyllabic words will now be tabulated.

	Low German	Hybrid	High German	Identical	
MONOSYLLABLES					
Pronouns	19	9	37	11	
Verbs	1	1	3	18	
Nouns	-	-	12	9	
Prepositions	6	-	14	3	
Adv./Adj./Conjs.	1	3	11	27	
	27	13	77	68	= 185

	Low German	Hybrid	High German	Identical	
POLYSYLLABLES					
Nouns	5	7	64	26	
Adjectives	7	5	16	6	
Pronouns	-	-	11	12	
Adverbs	4	-	8	9	
Verbs	4	10	35	16	
Preps./Conjs.	-	3	16	-	
	20	25	150	69	= 264
	47	38	227	137	= 449[1]

Fig. 7. Total word counts

As the above table shows, it is evident that, on a numerical basis, the High German words exceed the Low German. This continues to be the case even if the Identical words are added to either dialect, since they help reflect a truer judgement when deciding in favour of the translation theory or of the hypothesis proposed in this thesis. The Hybrid words can be divided equally between High and Low German so that a complete comparison can be made.

On a numerical basis the uniquely High German words make up over half of the total (227 out of 440, or 51%). They exceed the uniquely Low German words on a ratio of 5:1. This alone should be sufficient to refute the view that the

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[1] gudhamun is one word, but gūd was listed under Low German, and -hamun under Identical, and counted individually, thus 449.

lay is a translation into Low German of a High German original. For this, the Holtzmann view, to be accepted, we would expect a far greater percentage of the words to be Low German. However, only 47 out of a total of 449 words (10%) can be regarded as uniquely Low German. The proposed hypothesis accounts for the presence of so many High German spellings, a fact with which the Holtzmann view does not fully come to grips.

If the same comparison is made, this time including the Identical words plus half of the Hybrid words, the following chart shows the totals.

	HG	+ Identical	+ $\frac{1}{2}$ Hybrid		
monosyllables :	77	68	6	= $\frac{151}{185}$	= $\frac{383}{449}$
polysyllables :	150	69	13	= $\frac{232}{264}$	

	LG	+ Identical	+ $\frac{1}{2}$ Hybrid		
monosyllables :	27	68	6	= $\frac{101}{185}$	= $\frac{203}{449}$
polysyllables :	20	69	13	= $\frac{102}{264}$	

Fig. 8. Comparative totals of High and Low German words, plus Identical and half-Hybrid words.

The Low German word total is 203, or 45%, as opposed to 383 High German words, or 85%, out of a total word count of 449. Both comparisons indicate how High German words exceed the Low German words.

Below we have a table which shows the spread of monosyllables and polysyllables together, under six headings, throughout the lay.

Lines	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-68
High German	31	32	23	37	37	40	27
Low German	9	11	6	5	6	3	7
Low German (no t/tt)	4	6	2	-	2	1	1
Hybrid	4	11	12	1	3	3	4
Hybrid (no t/tt)	2	2	2	1	2	0	1
Identical	16	13	22	23	20	36	7

Fig. 9. Total distribution of all parts of speech.

This underlines again the dominance of the uniquely High German words over those that are uniquely Low German. We note that Low German words show more frequently at the beginning, especially minus t(t), whilst the High German words are fairly evenly spread out due to their large numbers. We note that from line 41 onwards there seems to be an increase in Low German forms, excluding t(t), which again falls off towards the end. This could be explained by scribe A taking a break, when scribe B writes lines 30-40a. Scribe A returns refreshed and copies with greater fidelity, resulting in a rise in the frequency of Low German forms retained, excluding t(t). Strikingly enough, this is reflected in our statistics (fig. 9). The same assumption that scribe A returned fresh to his work in line 41b explains the distinction of High and Low German vowels and diphthongs at least as well, if not better, than the argument proposed regarding Fig. 1 (3.2.12).

3.5.0. Principles of (Initial) Prominence and of Final Lability.

Both principles were set out in the first chapter. We shall now ascertain to what extent the principles hold true.

3.5.1. Principle of (Initial) Prominence.

Those words in accord with P.I.P. are:

ik (1, 12), seggen (1), ænon (2), gūdhamun (5), her (7, 8, 18, 20, 22, 25, 27, 28, 33), ēnan (12), ōdre (12), ūsere (15), hætti (17), theotrīhhe (19), sitten (20), habbe (29), wēttu (30), werpan (40), fōrtōs (41) hēme (47), gōten (47), ēnigeru (52), sehstic (56), gūdea (60), mōtti (60), hwerdar (61), hregilo (61), ærist (63), stōptun (65), heuwun (66), wabnum (68).

The words listed here give a good indication of the distribution of Low German elements throughout the lay, not all of which are prominent within the lay. However, then the Low German element is prominent within the word. For this reason Hybrid words are included in the above list. Uniquely Low German words, although they naturally belong in this section, are found in the monosyllabic and polysyllabic word lists only.

3.5.2. Counterexamples to P.I.P.

A number of words apparently run counter to P.I.P.

ringa (6), ibu (12), arbeo (22), infahan (37).

The initial element of these words is High German, when we

might well have expected to find Low German. However, these few examples can be credited to scribal subconscious High Germanising, so do not greatly harm the proposed hypothesis.

Certain consonant changes, k/c = ch and initial p for b, although countering P.I.P. have already been explained away as automatic changes - cf. 3.2.5. and 3.2.20. - and so cannot be counted against P.I.P.

On the assumption that the wen-rune (ƿ) was found in LGw, was (7, 24), wortun (9), wēt (12), westar (43) and waltan (62), having uu, can be cited in one sense as counter-examples, but it must be remembered that P.I.P. does not mean that all words preserve Low German elements in their early parts, but only that where Low German elements are preserved they tend to be early in the word. Hence all initial runes support P.I.P., and the few initial uu do not count against it, indeed they support the proposed theory in another aspect by showing High Germanisation at work. Furthermore, the use of the rune would be unlikely in a translation to Low German.

3.5.3. Rarity and poetic prominence.

Certain words, already identified in the second chapter, are prominent and therefore retained owing to their rarity or poetic value. They can be divided into two groups: the first group consists of those words stemming from the HGo: skihit and wallōta These are unknown in Low German, therefore retained from the High German in the Low German for their poetic force, as their meanings were clear from the

context. The transmission from Low to High German poses no problem. The second group is comprised of Low German words and forms, presumably acquired by Low German versions and transmitted to the LGw. They survive into the Hl as being striking to the Bavarian scribe(s) by reason of dialect peculiarities (gūd-, chūd, ūsere, ōdre, gūdea with their nasal loss before an old spirant) or poetic force or rarity (helidos, sunufatarungo, hevane, d[illegible], bihrahanen, bretōn). Finally, werpan and heuwun in context might have poetic force since we might expect them to be used with prefixes.

3.5.4. Principle of Final Lability.

Those words that are in accord with P.F.L. are: seggen (1), sih (2,5), muotin (2), her (7, 8, 18, 20, 25, 27, 28, 33), hērōro (7), frōtōro (8), fragēn (8), fōhēm (9), (h)wer (9), fireo (10), in (10, 20, 21), sagēs (12), ūsere (15), hina (19), sitten (20), fatereres (24), ente (27), leop (27), chōnnēm (28), habbe (29), gap (34), dir (35), altēr (39), spahēr (39), mih (40), dīnēm (40), hrustim (46), rīche (48), mih (51), banum (52), suasat (53), banin (54), ellen (55), ēnic (57), der (58), ōstarliuto (58), warne (59), niuse (60), sih (61), rūmen (61), brunnōno (62), asckim (63), scarpēn (64), scūrim (64), sciltim (64), tōsamane (65), luttilo (67).

Naturally all the uniquely High German words found in the monosyllabic and polysyllabic word lists also fit P.F.L.

As can be seen from the words above, the High German element concludes the word, which either begins with a Low German element, or the element is identical, so that the supposed Bavarian copyist(s) view(s) the element as High German and subconsciously adds the native High German ending. Were the lay a translation to Low German undertaken by a Low German, as Holtzmann proposes, then we might expect mainly Low German endings. In fact we have only two uniquely Low German endingss - helidos (6) and wāniu (29).

Other words that fit P.F.L. are those that include specifically Upper German elements - ch for k, c for g, (p for b forms are already covered), the words having been listed under the orthographic changes (3.2.5. and 3.2.10). Their appearance commences at line 10, after which they appear regularly. One other word showing Bavarianisation and fitting P.F.L. is friuntlaos (24).

3.5.5. Conclusion.

The following table indicates the distribution throughout the lay of those words that fit P.I.P., those that run counter to it, and also those words in accord with P.F.L., all as have been listed above.

Lines	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-68
P.I.P.	6	9	6	2	3	4	6
Counter P.I.P.	3	2	2	1	1	-	1
P.F.L.	13	8	13	9	4	15	9

Fig. 10. Distribution of words relating to P.I.P. and P.F.L.

Examples are spread throughout the lay. Words fitting P.I.P. are more numerous in the first thirty lines, yet the remaining examples show that it is the prominence within a word of the Low German element and not just its prominence within the lay which causes the Low German to be retained. Counter-examples to P.I.P. are minimal and, as with words fitting P.F.L., are in accord with the strong High Germanisation at work in the lay, so refuting the translation theory.

3.6.0. Holtzmann theory.

We can now draw together the points which argue against Holtzmann's assertion that 'ein Niederdeutscher eine hochdeutsche Vorlage abschreibend halb und halb in seine Mundart übersetzte' (1864:290). Anyone translating would surely not undertake the task 'halb und halb', rather decide to tackle the task wholeheartedly. However, as the word count has indicated, the majority of the words in the lay, whether including those words Identical in both High and Low German (85% to 45%) or not (51% to 10%), are High German. The use of HG t (LG d) is consistent in the lay, although the most elementary knowledge of Low German would cover this point. No Low German would translate HG zz as LG tt, as his dialect would use a single t. Neither can the many inconsistencies within the lay be credited to the translator.

3.6.1. Low German translator/copyist?

The idea of a translation per se seems inconceivable

on the evidence to hand. The proposal that a native Low German was translating to Low German is therefore even more ridiculous.

3.6.2. Presence of uniquely High German forms.

Having correctly used gimahalta (its meaning is 'betroth' in High German) and inserted hevane (not found in High German, which uses himil), why did the translator nevertheless use skihit (49) and wallota (50), neither of which is attested in Low German? The previous chapter explains the presence of both verbs within the proposed hypothesis.

3.6.3. Anglo-Saxon scribal features.

Holtzmann does not make mention of the Anglo-Saxon influences whose presence in the lay cannot be denied. We suggest that a special Anglo-Saxon connection existed at some stage in the lay's transmission as outlined in the initial chapter (section 1.6.).

A prominent Anglo-Saxon feature is the use of the wen-rune (ƿ), which appears forty times in all. Either an Anglo-Saxon scribe worked on the lay or, as suggested in the proposed hypothesis, the Saxon scribe of the LGw had enjoyed an Anglo-Saxon education.

This may well account for the presence of det (23), written dæt in the existing manuscript, which may be traced back to OE dæt, which means 'after that' or 'thence', the

sense required within the context. This then solves the controversy over det, which is otherwise not attested and is changed to des by editors.

Two further Anglo-Saxon features, the rune ƿ in feheta (27) and the ligature & in &non (2) and &rist (63) can also be viewed as features surviving from the Anglo-Saxon influenced LGw.

3.6.4. wābnum (68).

This word contains a b which is not found in HG wāfnum nor LG wāpnum. Therefore the b was miscopied, but surely only from a p, for a Low German would not write b for a HG f. Only an Upper German scribe is likely to confuse p and b. This then points to a p in the original, to LG wāpnum, thus favouring a LGw.

3.6.5. The use of đ.

đ is another Anglo-Saxon feature, and occurs four times in the first five lines. Campbell (1959:25) states that đ is found in all positions in the Anglo-Saxon Corpus Glosses. Since no home-trained Saxon or High German would use đ as in H1, we assume it belongs to the LGw. Subsequently the High German scribe(s) wrote d.

In Low German initial d would be outlandish, for d is not a variant of LG th (Cordes 1973:125). A Low German translator would change HG d to LG th.

3.6.6. miti (19, 26, 68) and inwit (41).

Both words clearly display a superficial High Germanisation of the Low German words (midi and inwid). As translations to Low German from HG mit and inwitti they are unlikely, but as mechanical d = t changes from Low German they are unchallengeable.

3.6.7. Nasal loss.

Similarly chūd and ūsere are incomprehensible within Holtzmann's theory. A translator who knows enough Low German to omit the n in all the right places and no other is not likely to retain UG ch (for LG k) and the High German longer form ūsere.

3.6.8. Absence of z.

Our view is that t or tt was used throughout the lay because the Anglo-Saxon educated scribe(s) of LGw, L/HGw and Hl avoided z. Campbell (1959: § 53) explains that OE z has the value [ts], as does OS z (Holthausen 1921:63). Thus the use and value of HG z and OS/OE z differed enough to make the scribe(s) avoid the letter entirely (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.4.). Only a systematic scribal policy explains the complete absence of z, whereas Holtzmann's 'half and half' translation would give a mixture of z and t.

3.6.9. Conjunctions, prepositions.

It is precisely these common words that are entirely

High German (cf. 3.3.5.). If the translation-to-Low-German theory was to be credible, we would expect to find at least some of these parts of speech in Low German, which would be a simple task for a Low German translator.

3.7.0. Anglo-Saxon influence.

The formal connections, as shown above, are parallelled by a cultural affinity. Among Anglo-Saxon monks there seems to have been greater tolerance of the pagan culture. A Low German scop could well have known some Old English poetry, and in this tradition German scribes might well have become interested in preserving some Germanic poetry as the Anglo-Saxons did. On the continent, however, it seems that the Church was opposed to such pursuits, or at least refused to allow its resources to be used in this way. It is likely that only a few Anglo-Saxon inspired monks wrote down or copied pagan material, and it would be natural that their work should contain signs of Anglo-Saxon influence.

Bostock sees Fulda as the abbey at which the Hildebrandslied was written down, since Fulda was an English foundation (founded by Winfrith of Essex-Boniface-in 744 A.D.) "with continuing English connections" which "would suffice to explain the mixture of insular and continental traits" (1976:75). Moreover, Fulda was a place "where Anglo-Saxon and Bavarian traditions met" (1976:135), and where a Bavarian would experience pagan Low German poetry, probably through Anglo-Saxon mediation. We have proposed in Chapter 1 (section

1.6.) that Bavarian scribes copied the lay from LGw. This would then explain the continuation of Anglo-Saxon features and also the introduction of Bavarian characteristics.

3.7.1. seggen.

A further, though less decisive point which links the lay once again with Anglo-Saxon influence, so weakening Holtzmann's theory, is the word seggen. The very first line of the lay (Ik gihorta dat seggen) has a very close parallel in the Old English 'Partridge'. In the Old English, the line reads Hyrde ic secgen. The link appears even closer when we consider a line from the Bavarian Muspilli - Daz hortih rahhōn dia weroltrehtuuison (line 37). Here rahhōn is used for 'say' or 'tell', whereas the Old English has secgen, corresponding exactly with LGw *seggian (Hl seggen).

3.8.0. Old puzzles solved.

We have tried to show how the proposed hypothesis accomodates all the major linguistic features of the existing lay, but we find strong confirmation in the way some old puzzles are cleared up.

3.8.1. suasat (53).

The -at adjectival ending is shown to be nothing more than the HG -az with the usual t for z. The full explanation is given in the previous chapter, line 53.

3.8.2. tirri (25).

This actually non-existent word has been mistakenly separated from ummettirri and consequently cannot be attested elsewhere. The word is in fact irri, and should stand separate from LG ummet (HG ummez). The reason is given in the previous chapter, line 25.

3.8.3. muotin (2).

Confident in the regularity of the d to t change, we confirm LG mōian, giving us mōidin in the subjunctive past, which by virtue of the o/uo interchange and the P.F.L. is converted to muotīn by a Bavarian scribe (Holthausen 1921: §460 and Braune 1975:§363).

3.8.4. chludun (65).

The uncertainty about this form can be cleared up in the knowledge that initial ch- corresponds to LG k. We therefore confirm the association with klioban and reject suggestions, such as Wagner summarises (cf. previous chapter, line 65) that chludun stems from hlouen 'bellow' or hlūt(t)en 'resound'.

3.8.5. tt.

The geminate tt is shown to be based on a rejection of z and to afford a scribal distinction between intervocalic LG t and HG t. It is not regarded as an imitation of HG zz.

3.8.6. fatereres (24).

As a translation to Low German by a Low German, as proposed by Holtzmann, this spelling is hardly likely. The Low German genitive singular has no ending (Holthausen 1921:319). The interpretation of this word, given in line 24 of the previous chapter, is plausible, and supports the LGw.

3.9.0. Agreement with old observations.

The proposed hypothesis is also upheld by old observations.

3.9.1. High and Low German features.

Holtzmann, stating that the sounds belonged to High and Low German, exemplified the Low German sounds with the following words - ðnon, tuēm, ēnan, wēt, ēwin, hēme, ēnic, which all show Low German at the beginning (1864:290).

Saran (1915) concludes that the majority of pure Old Saxon words appear at the start of the lay, within the first one hundred words. Thereafter, the frequency tapers off, and more High German words occur. Indeed Neckel mentions that certain words possess a High German ending (1917:97-111) as we have found, a point emphasised by Pongs (1913:182).

All these observations are in full accord with the proposed hypothesis.

3.9.2. Anglo-Saxon inclusions.

This aspect has already been mentioned by most commentators, although they pursue different hypotheses - Baesecke (1945), Bostock (1976:74), Holtzmann (1864:289-293), Pongs (1913:44) - but this, too, fits painlessly into our scheme of things.

3.9.3. Explanation of High/Low German mix.

The proposed hypothesis also explains the High and Low German mix found in the hybrid forms. Vocabularly that is attested in one or the other dialect, such as skihit (49) and wallōta (50), both High German, hevane (30) and helidos (6), both Low German, or found in neither, such as bihrahanen (57), are plausibly accounted for in the lay's transmission.

The line by line investigation also accounts for the contradictory alliteration in helidos-ringa (6)-Low German-and riche-reccheo (48)-High German-, although the latter has so frequently and insistently been used to disprove a Low German origin.

3.10.0. Conclusion.

We can say that the proposed hypothesis is consistent with all major features of the Hildebrandslied and does not run into serious counterarguments. It should seriously be considered as the best way so far proposed to account for the many varied and conflicting aspects of this most significant and thought-provoking document in Old High German literature.

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APPENDIX I

A proposed Low German written version

The following version of the Hildebrandslied is a purely hypothetical reconstruction, on the basis of the proposed hypothesis, of the Low German written original. From our research only one other such attempt has been found, offering the lay 'in seiner sächsischen gestalt' (Vollmer and Hoffmann 1850:9-10). The uniqueness of such an attempt may possibly be due to the dominance of the view that the present text had a High German original.

Our Low German version was arrived at from the line by line investigation, where the equivalent High and Low German forms were discussed. All graphemic correspondences have been changed to their Low German equivalents. Further, the Old English scribal features, ð (LG th), the wen-rune (ƿ) and the ligature & have been included in this version, since we feel, as mentioned in the main body of the thesis, that they existed in the proposed Low German written original.

The version proposed by Vollmer and Hoffmann differs in certain aspects from our version. Many words differ in their spelling; whereas they write saggian, we used seggian. Such orthographic variations between these proposed versions may rest on a question of time. We have the benefit of more extensive research carried out by many scholars, which has been a distinct advantage to contemporary investi-

gation. Grammars, dictionnaries and textual compilations and comparisons have made our task all the easier and the orthography more uniform. However, Vollmer and Hoffmann have taken the liberty of rearranging certain lines in their version, with which we are in disaccord.

It is perhaps a matter of lesser significance to alter the spelling of a word, based on information to hand which is judged reliable. However, to alter the sequence of lines from that of the existing manuscript is a desecration of a unique lay of literary importance. The varying views on which lines should be altered or rearranged and where they should be placed only goes to show how inadequate and unskilful commentators are. It is better not to meddle with the word and line order of the existing manuscript.

We do not suggest that our proposed Low German version is beyond question, yet we feel that the Low German forms and their spellings have been substantiated within the proposed hypothesis. Our version may therefore show an approximation of the manuscript that the initial proposed High German copyist had to follow.

It should be mentioned that there may have been a mixture of spelling in the Low German written original, with either k or c, đ or even th (cf. line 19 - theotrihhe of the existing manuscript), f or þ, which are variants as mentioned by Cordes (197 :119). In the following proposed Low German version, k will appear, as will đ, the latter for reasons given in Chapter 1, section 1.6. f and þ will both appear,

since certain words were spelt with f , and others with b (Holthausen 1921).

lk gihorda dat seggian
dat sie urhetun ænon modin
hildibrand endi hadubrand undar herium tuem
sunufadarungos iro saro rihtun
gerewidun sie iro gudhamun gurdidun sie iro swerd an
helidos obar hringos do sie to dero hildiu ridun
hildibrand gimahalda heribrandes sunu he fas herora man
ferahes frodora he fragon gistod
fahum fordun hwe sin fadar fari
firiho inna folke
efdo hwelikes knosles du sis
ef du mi enan sagis ik mi de odre fet
kind inna kuningrikie kud ist mi al irmindiod
hadubrand gimahalda heribrandes sunu
dat sagdun mi use liudi
alde ande frode dea er hinan farun
dat hildibrand hæti min fadar ik hetu hadubrand
forn he ostar gifet floh he odakres nid
hinan midi diodrike endi sinero degano filu
he farlet inna lande luttila sittian
brud inna bure barn unfahsan
erbio losa he red ostar hinan
det sid diodrike - darba gistodun

fadar mines ðat þas so friundlos man
he þas odakre ummet irri
ðegano ðekkisto midi ðiodrike
he þas eo folkes at endi imo þas eo fehta ti liof
kuð þas he konum mannum
ni þaniu ik iu lif habbie
þettiu irmingod quað hildibrand obana af hevane
ðat ðu neo ðanan hald midi sus sibbian man
ðing ni giledos
þand he ðo ef arme þundane boga
kesuringu gidan so imo sie ðe kuning gaþ
huneo druhtin ðat ik ði nu bi huldi giþu
haðubrand gimahalda hildibrandes sunu
midi geru skal man geþa an(d)fahan
ord þidar orde
ðu bist ði alð hun unmet spahi
spenis mi midi ðinum þordun þili mi ðinu speru þerpan
bist also gialdrod man so ðu eþin inþid fordos
ðat sagdun mi seolidande
þestar obar þentilseo ðat ina þig farnam
dod ist hildibrand heribrandes suno
hildibrand gimahalda heribrandes suno
þela gisihu ik inna ðinem hrustium
ðat ðu habes heme herron goden
ðat ðu noh bi ðesemu rikie þrekkio ni þurdi
þelaga nu þaldandi god quad hildibrand þeþurt skihid
ik þalloda sumaro ande þintro sehstig or lande/inna urlande

þar man mi eo skerida inna folk sceotandero
so man mi at burg enigeru banon ni gifasta
nu skal mik suasat kind suerdu haupan
bredon midi sinu billiu efþo ik imo ti banon ferdan
þoh maht þu nu odliko ef þu þin ellian dōg
inna sus heremo man hrusti gifinnan
roþa birahanen ef þu þar enig reht habes
þe si þoh nu argosto quað hildibrand ostar liudio
þe þi nu figes gifernie nu þi it so fel lustid
gudea gimenun niusie de moti
hwedar ina hiudu dero hregila hrumian moti
efþo þesaro brunniono bedero faldan
þo letun sie arist askium scridan
skarpum skurium þat inna þem skildim stod(un)
þo stoptun sie to samne stenbord klubun
heufun harmlicco huite skildi
ande im iro lindun luttila furdun
gifigan midi fapnum .....

* * * * * * * * * * * *

APPENDIX II

The Hildebrandslied as in the manuscript.

Ik gihorta ƀat seggen
ƀat sih urhettun &non muotin
hiltibraht enti hadubrant untar heriun tuem
sunufatarungo Iro saro rihtun
garutun se iro gudhamun gurten sih iro suert ana
helidos ubar ringa do sie to dero hiltu ritun
hiltibraht gimahalta heribrantes sunu her uuas
heroro man
ferahes frotoro her fragen gistuont
fohem uuortun ƿer sin fater ƿari
fireo In folche .....
..... eddo ƿelihhes cnuosles du sis
ibu du mi enan sages ik mi de odre uuet
chind In chunincriche chud ist mir al irmindeot
hadubraht gimahalta hiltibrantes sunu
dat sagetun mi usere liuti
alte anti frote dea ærhina ƿarun
dat hiltibrant h&tti min fater ih heittu hadubrant
forn her ostar gihúeit floh her otachres nid
hina miti theotrihhe enti sinero degano filu
her furlaet In lante luttila sitten
prut In bure barn unƿahsam
arbeo laosa he raet ostar hina
det sid detrihhe darba gistuontun

fatereres mines dat uuas so friuntlaos man
her þar otachre ummettirri
degano dechisto unti deotrichhe darba gistontun
her þas eo folches at ente imo þuas fehta ti leop
chud þás her chonnem mannum
ni þaniu ih iu lib habbe.....
wettu irmingot quad hiltibraht obana ab hevane
dat du neo dana halt mit sus sippan man
dinc ni gileitos.....
þant her do ar arme þuntane bauga
cheisuringu gitan so imo se der chuning gap
huneo truhtin dat ih di nu bi huldi gibu
hadubraht gimalta hiltibrantes sunu
mit geru scal man geba Infahan
ort þidar orte.....
du bist dir alter hun ummet spaher
spenis mih mit dinem þuortun þili mih dinu
speru þerpan
pist also gialta man so du eþin Inþit fortos
dat sagetun mi seolidante
þestar ubar þentilseo dat man þic furnam
tot ist hiltibrant heribrantes suno
hiltibraht gimahalta heribtes suno
þéla gisihu ih In dinem hrustim
dat du habes heme herron goten
dat du noh bi desemo riche reccheo ni þurti
þélaga nu þáltant got quad hiltibrant þeþurt skihit

ih þallota sumaro enti þíntro sehstic urlante
dar man mih eo scerita In fole sceotantero
so man mir at burc enigeru ni gifasta
Nu scal mih suasat chind suertu haupan
breton mit sinu billiu eddo ih imo ti banin þerdan
doh maht du nu aodlihho ibu dir din ellen taoc
In sus heremo man hrusti giþinnan
rauba bihrahanen ibu du dar enic reht habes
der si doh nu argosto quad hiltibrant ostarliuto
der dir nu þiges þarne nu dih es so þel lustit
gudea gimeinun niuse de motti
þerdar sih dero hiutu hregilo hrumen muotti
erdo desero brunnono bedero uualtan
do lettun se &rist asckim scritan
scarpen scurim dat In dem sciltim stont
do stoptū tosamane staim bort chludun
heþen harmlicco huitte scilti
unti im iro lintun luttilo þurtun
giþigan miti þabnū

APPENDIX III

The following is a photocopy of the Hildebrandslied manuscript, taken from Schrifttafen zum althochdeutschen Lesebuch by Hanns Fischer, published by Niemeyer Verlag, Tübingen, 1966.

[illegible] dar[illegible]en dacsih[illegible]n anonmuo
[illegible] hitr brahr orthadubrant. uuar herwrtuen.
iiu fatairingo hrofforo ribrun garuuan se iro
g[illegible]llhannun. gurtun sih iro. suert ana helidos
[illegible]ringa dosie todero hilqui rrun. hiltibrahr
[illegible]hulta heribrannter sunu. herwuar heroro
[illegible]an ferahes frotoro. her frage i gistuont fohem
uuortum. pirsinfacer pari fir eo in folche eddo
pidhhes enuorlas dusir. ibu du mynan sagen. ik
mideo dreuuet chind in chnnune riche. chud ist
min altermm deot. hadubrahr gimahalta hilti
brannter sunu dar fagetun mi user eluui abe ana
rroce dea erhina parun. dat hiltibrant hertu
mm facer. ibbertu hadubram. forn her ostar.
gistuont flolher ocachrasmidmina mit theotrihhe
chit sinero degano filu. her ur laet in lante luttila
sezzen prunt hiburc barn[illegible] pahsan arbeo la osa.
h[illegible]ostar hina der sid. theotrihhe dar ba gi
stuon tanu fasten ter mm[illegible]. dat iu ar sofriunt
laor man her par ocachr[illegible]um mettu rri dega
no. dechisto unti deotrichhe dar la gistontun
her par eo folcher ar ente mo puasto pehta tale
chun par her chornem uuannum ni pan[illegible]ih
[illegible]ih habbe[illegible]rmungot quad

hitabrahc obana aphcuahc … du neo danahadh mu …
ippan man dine migladar. … her-do ar arme- pun …
inga chesuringu greas. … seno sedar chuning …
huneo cruthan. dat ro dirr … haldi gibur. hadubrahc
gimahta hitabrand sunu. … gaiu scalman geba hi…
han ort pidar … dubist … aba- hun ummet sprhar
ipanisamih mit dinen … silimih dinu speru …
pan. pist alsogabal man … hipu fortun.
dat sagetun mi seo li dante … -ubar-penal sin …
man pic fiornan. dat ist hit … nuc herbrand sunu …
hitabrahc gimahta her … sunu. pelagisi hunl…
Indinen hrustam dat du … hone herron goth …
dat dunoh bidesemo rich … cheo nipurt. pita …
ganu pitanc got quad hit … anc pi purt thihtor…
ih pallora sumaro enti … sehsic urlanc. dir…
man mih eo scarta Infole … ero sonan nur …
burc enigiu. banun nigi fat … Nu scal mih suasat
chind. sus tu hau pan … su billiu eddo
ibu mio tibanin perdan. doh … dunu aodlihho …
ibu dir din ellen taoc. hi sus … no man hrusti gi
pinnan rauba bihrahanun. ibu … dar enic reht ha
ber. der i doh nu argostu … brant ostar. luno
der dir nu piger parne nu dih … pi lustit. guda
gimeinun niu sidemotti. … dalih dero hiuui hrl…
hruomen muotti. … do dero … nonо bedero …
tan. do lettun se … ist ase kim … scarpen sinu…
dat Inden satam … te. do … tornane stainu
bort. chludun. … hrunte scilti.
unti imo … pun … gisigan …